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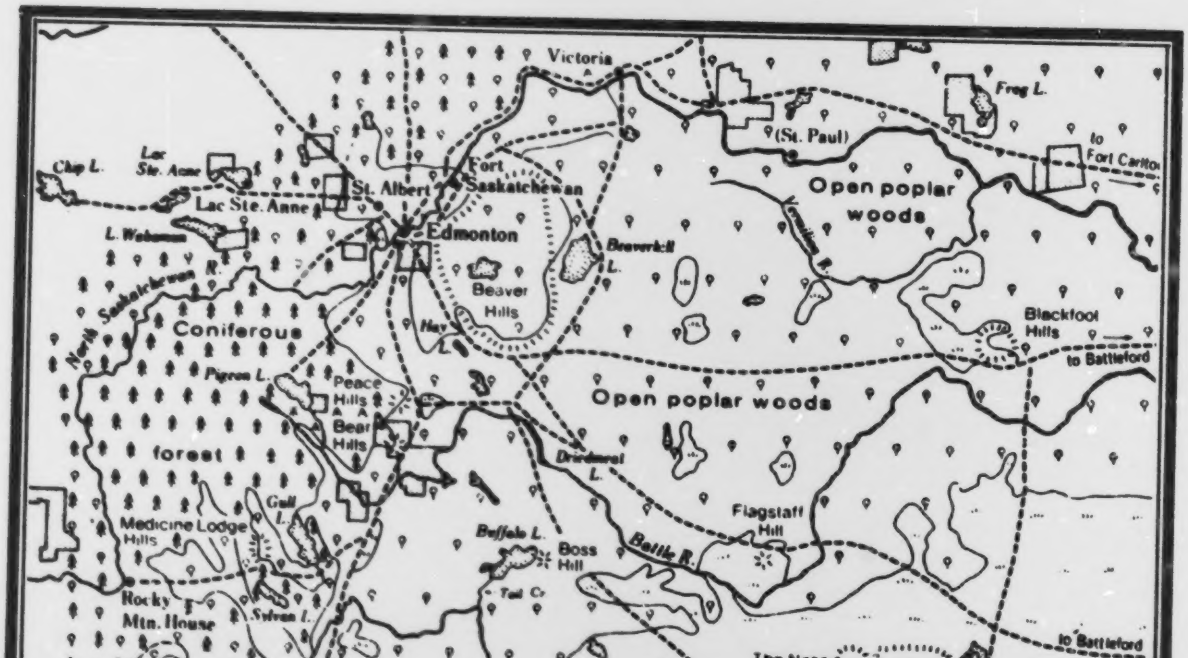
THE UKRAINIAN BLOC SETTLEMENT IN EAST CENTRAL ALBERTA, 1890-1930: A HISTORY

Occasional Paper
No. 10

March 1985

Orest T. Martynowych


Victoria
Frog L.
(St. Paul)
to Fort Carlton
Chip L.
Lac Ste. Anne
St. Albert
Fort Saskatchewan
Lac Ste. Anne
Open poplar woods
L. Wabamun
Edmonton
Beaverhill L.
Beaver Hills
North Saskatchewan R.
Coniferous
Hay L.
Blackfoot Hills
to Battleford
Pigeon L.
Peace Hills
Bear Hills
Open poplar woods
forest
Driedmeat L.
Gull L.
Flagstaff Hill
Medicine Lodge Hills
Buffalo L.
Boss Hill
Battle R.
Tail Cr.
Rocky Mtn. House
Sylvan L.
to Battleford
The Nose
Neutral Hills

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THE UKRAINIAN BLOC SETTLEMENT
IN
EAST CENTRAL ALBERTA, 1890-1930:
A HISTORY

Including

Bibliography with Annotations

Orest T. Martynowych

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OCCASIONAL PAPERS

These Occasional Papers are designed to permit the rapid dissemination of information resulting from Historical Resources programmes. They are intended primarily for interested specialists, rather than as popular publications for general readers. In the interests of making information available quickly to these specialists, normal production procedures have been abbreviated.

ABSTRACT

The Ukrainian bloc settlement in east central Alberta was comprised overwhelmingly of Ukrainians who emigrated en masse from Galicia and Bukovyna. Mass emigration was precipitated by the inadequate land supply, persistence of large estates, isolation from industrial centres, and policies of economic and national oppression that existed in these regions. The first Ukrainian settlement was established in east central Alberta in 1892. By 1914 the Ukrainian bloc settlement in east central Alberta extended over a territory of 2,500 square miles. By 1930, almost 50,000 persons of Ukrainian descent inhabited this region.

The typical Ukrainian farmstead in east central Alberta developed from a traditional subsistence farm into a semi-mechanized commercial operation during the first three decades of immigration. By 1930, Ukrainian farmers in each central Alberta were better off than Ukrainians in other parts of the country. At the same time, they lagged behind the average Alberta farmer in economic terms.

Chain migration and gravitational settlement facilitated community development among Ukrainians. Churches were the first institutions to appear, followed by schools, country stores and community halls.

Political activity in pursuit of bilingual schooling, proportional representation and farmers' rights met with little success among Ukrainian immigrants prior to 1921. During the 1920s, considerable advances were made--four Ukrainian MLAs and one MP were elected.

Table of Contents

Introduction 1

Chapter One: Ukrainians in Galicia and Bukovyna, 1890-1930 7

1. Introduction 9
2. The Colonial Status of Galicia and Bukovyna 13
3. Agrarian Relations 16
   A. The Great Landowners 16
   B. Ecclesiastical Landholdings 17
   C. Peasant Landholdings 18
   D. Regions Contributing Immigrants to East Central Alberta 21
4. Political Ideologies 26
   A. Greek Catholic Clericalism 26
   B. Russophilism 28
   C. Ukrainophilism or National Populism 29
   D. Radicalism 30
5. The Awakening Village 32
   A. New Institutions 32
   B. Regions Contributing Immigrants to East Central Alberta 33
6. War, Revolution and the Emergence of Extremism 36
   A. War 36
   B. Revolution 37
   C. The 1920s 39
   D. Political Extremism 42

Endnotes 46

Chapter Two: Ukrainian Immigration to the Canadian Prairies 59

1. Introduction 59
2. The Canadian Prairies at the Turn of the Century 64
   A. Colonial Status 64
   B. Protestant and Roman Catholic Missionaries 68
3. The Pattern of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement 73
   A. Immigration 73
   B. Land Selection 75
   C. The Settlement of East Central Alberta 84
4. Peasant Society 95
   A. Peasant Society and the "Image of the Limited Good" 96
   B. The Persistence of Peasant Behaviour Patterns 97

Endnotes 101

Chapter Three: The Ukrainian Farmstead in East Central Alberta . . 11

- 1. Introduction 113
- 2. The Pioneer Farm 118
  - A. Land Selection 118
  - B. The Temporary Dug-Out Dwelling 121
  - C. Off-Farm Work 123
- 3. The Transitional Farm 128
  - A. The First Permanent Home 128
  - B. The Farmyard 131
  - C. Farm Work 134
  - D. Agricultural Growth 136
- 4. The Commercial Farm 143
  - A. War and the Transition to Commercial Farming . . . 143
  - B. The Mechanized Commercial Farm of the 1920s . . . 148
  - C. Agricultural Trends to 1930 152
- Endnotes 157

Chapter Four: The Rural Community and its Institutions 163

- 1. Introduction: The Rural Community 165
- 2. The Church 170
  - 1890 to 1918 170
  - A. The First Missionaries 170
  - B. The Russian Orthodox Church 173
  - C. The Independent Greek Church and Ukrainian Presbyterian Congregations 177
  - D. The Greek Catholic Church 180
  - The Church During The 1920s 183
  - E. The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church 184
  - F. The Russian Orthodox Church (II) 189
  - G. The Greek Catholic Church (II) 192
- 3. The Protestant Missions 194
  - A. Missionary Activity to 1918 194
  - B. Ukrainian Protestants During the 1920s 199
- 4. The Rural School 201
  - A. The Alberta School System to 1930 201
  - B. The Organization of School Districts in the Bloc Settlement 205
  - C. The Great Ruthenian School Revolt 211
  - D. The Debate About the Role of the Rural School . . 216
  - E. The Emergence of Ukrainian School Teachers 221
- 5. The Country Store 225
- 6. The Community Hall (Narodnyi Dim) 229
- Endnotes 236

Chapter Five: The Railroad Town and its Services 249
  1. Introduction 251
  2. Railroads and Railroad Towns 255
    A. The 1905 Canadian Northern Railway Line 255
    B. The 1917-20 Canadian Northern Railway/ Canadian National Railway Line 258
    C. The 1927 Canadian Pacific Railway Line 262
  3. The Chain Businesses 266
    A. Grain Elevators 267
    B. Lumber Yards 274
    C. Creameries and Cheese Factories 276
  4. Ukrainian Businessmen and Professionals 279
  5. The Alberta Provincial Police 286
  Endnotes 294

Chapter Six: The Political Activity of Ukrainians in East Central Alberta 299
  1. Introduction 301
  2. Ukrainians and the Liberal Party 305
  3. Ukrainians and the United Farmers of Alberta 315
  4. Ukrainians and the Communist Party of Canada 325
  Endnotes 333

Summary 339

Bibliography with Annotations 347

List of Maps

Map 1. Galicia and Bukovyna, ca. 1900 12
Map 2. Regions of Galicia and Bukovyna Contributing Immigrants to East Central Alberta 25
Map 3. Inter-war Ukraine 45
Map 4. Percentage of Ukrainians in the Municipal Districts of East Central Alberta, 1931 63
Map 5. Ukrainian Bloc Settlements in the Prairie Provinces, ca. 1914 77
Map 6. Major Non-Ukrainian Settlements in East Central Alberta, ca. 1900 78
Map 7. Major Vegetation Zones, Prairie Provinces 79
Map 8. Natural Vegetation, Central Alberta ca. 1890 80
Map 9. The Ukrainian Colony in East Central Alberta, ca. 1910 92
Map 10. The Growth of Ukrainian Settlement in East Central Alberta, 1892-1914 93
Map 11. Area of Galician and Bukovynian Settlements in East Central Alberta, ca. 1914 94
Map 12. The Prairie Township 115
Map 13. Railway Territories on the Prairies 116
Map 14. Accessibility to Railways, 1891--1911--1931 117
Map 15. The Municipal Districts of East Central Alberta 138
Map 16. Cookville: A Typical Rural Community and its Institutions 169
Map 17. The Railroad Towns of East Central Alberta 254
Map 18. Electoral Constituencies of East Central Alberta 304

List of Tables

Table 1. Size of Landholdings in Galicia and Bukovyna, ca. 1900 16
Table 2. The Costs of Farm-Making, ca. 1900 124
Table 3. Land, Field Crops, Livestock, 1916: Average Per Farm 137
Table 4. Land, Field Crops, Livestock, 1916 140
Table 5. Improved and Wheat Acreage, 1916-1921 145
Table 6. Land and Field Crops, 1921 146
Table 7. Size of Farms (Per Cent), 1926 147
Table 8. Acreage Covered Per Ten-Hour Day by Horses and Tractors 150
Table 9. Percentage of Owners, Tenants and Owner/ Tenants, 1921--1926--1931 152
Table 10. Number of Workers Per Farm, 1935 153
Table 11. Land, Field Crops, Livestock, 1931: Average Per Farm 154
Table 12. Land, Field Crops, Livestock, 1931 155
Table 13. Average Value of Individual Farm, 1935 156
Table 14. Population of Towns Along the 1905 CNoR Line 256
Table 15. Number of Businesses in Towns Along the 1905 CNoR Line 257
Table 16. Educational, Religious and Professional Services Available in the Towns Along the 1905 CNoR Line 259
Table 17. Population of Towns Along the 1917-20 CNoR/CNR Line 260
Table 18. Number of Businesses in Towns Along the 1917-20 CNoR/CNR Line 261
Table 19. Educational, Religious and Professional Services Available in the Towns Along the 1917-20 CNoR/CNR Line 262
Table 20. Population, Number of Businesses, and Educational, Religious and Professional Services Available in the Towns Along the 1927 CPR Line 265
Table 21. Total Capacity (Bushels) of Grain Elevators in Towns Along the CNoR and CNoR/CNR Lines, 1923 271
Table 22. Population in Railroad Towns (of over 100 Inhabitants) According to Ethnic Origins, 1931 283
Table 23. Foreign-Born Male Penitentiary Population 21 Years of Age and Over, by Country of Birth, Canada, 1921 and 1931 289
Table 24. Murder and Manslaughter Cases Investigated by APP "A" Division, Involving Ukrainians in East Central Alberta, 1919-1931 292

Table 25. Legislative Seats and Percentage of the Popular Vote by Political Party: 1905, 1909, 1913, 1917 306
Table 26. MLAs Representing Provincial Constituencies in the Bloc Settlement Area, 1905-1921 307
Table 27. Results of Elections Contested by Ukrainian (Ruthenian) Candidates, April, 1913 312
Table 28. Legislative Seats and Percentage of the Popular Vote by Political Party: 1921, 1926, 1930 315
Table 29. MLAs Representing Provincial Constituencies in the Bloc Settlement Area, 1921-35 316

Introduction

Introduction

This report has been prepared for the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, a project of the Historic Sites Services, Alberta Culture. The Village is an open-air museum which tries to recreate aspects of Ukrainian immigrant life in east central Alberta during the years between 1890 and 1930. It was in east central Alberta that the first Ukrainian settlement in Canada was established in 1892. Within a few years it had grown into the largest Ukrainian bloc settlement in Western Canada. Today the region, which contains some of the oldest Ukrainian communities in North America, still represents the highest concentration of people of Ukrainian descent on the Canadian Prairies.

The Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village seeks to depict three vital dimensions of the Ukrainian immigrant experience in east central Alberta:

1. The individual experience of the Ukrainian homesteader and his family as they gradually moved from the subsistence agriculture practiced for centuries by their peasant ancestors in the Old Country to the commercial farming prevalent in North America.
2. The community experience of Ukrainian farmers who established rural institutions, often patterned after those in the Old Country, which filled the social, cultural and religious needs of the immigrants and helped to preserve Old Country customs and traditions.
3. The societal experience typical of railroad towns where Ukrainian immigrants came into direct contact with the business activity, professional services, government agencies, and corporate powers at the centre of Canadian life.

Accordingly the Village site has been divided into farmstead, rural community and railroad town sections. Thirty historic buildings have been moved in from all parts of east central Alberta, and arranged to reproduce the approriate environment in each of these sections. At present, almost half of the buildings have been researched and restored to their original condition. The site will be completely restored within the next two years.

The core of this report focuses on the three themes which the Village seeks to depict. The first two chapters provide a general overview of developments in Galicia and Bukovyna -- the two Habsburg provinces from which the overwhelming majority of Ukrainians who settled in east central Alberta had emigrated -- and in Western Canada at the turn of the century. The next three chapters constitute the core of the report. Chapter Three examines the three phases -- pioneer, transitional and commercial -- through which the typical Ukrainian farmstead passed between the 1890s and 1930. The costs of farm-making, farm buildings and the nature of farm work are discussed. An effort is also made to compare the growth of Ukrainian farming operations with those in the rest of the province. Chapter Four, the longest of the report's six chapters, tries to define just what a rural community was, and then surveys the history of the most important rural community institutions -- the church, the Protestant mission, the rural school, the country store and the community hall. The church and the school, the two institutions with the most complex and controversial history, receive the greatest amount of attention. Chapter Five surveys the services available in the towns which appeared along the three railroads which were built through the bloc settlement. It also names the owners of the major chain businesses and identifies the enterprises operated by Ukrainians. The final chapter examines the political activity of Ukrainian farmers in east central Alberta.

The present report is essentially a work of condensation and synthesis rather than the result of original research in the field or in archives. Although some research was carried out at the Provincial Archives of Alberta and in the newspaper collections at the Rutherford Library at the University of Alberta, the report is based primarily on published books and articles and on unpublished reports, theses and dissertations. The quantity and quality of the published works dealing with Ukrainian life in Canada and east central Alberta is modest at best. I have commented on some of these works in the annotated bibliography which accompanies this report. Unpublished research reports prepared for the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, and unpublished university theses and dissertations were of greater interest and value. While preparing this report I was able to use twenty-one UCHV reports pertaining to about ten of the thirty buildings found on the Village site. The other twenty buildings are still being researched and the results of this research were not available during the six months I spent preparing the report. The reports which were made available to me dealt with structural, land use and materials history, rather than with individual, family and community lifestyles, although they did provide valuable contextual and biographic information. They were especially valuable resources for the preparation of Chapters Three and Five. Chapters Two, Four and Six draw heavily on university theses and dissertations. Although I have acknowledged the authors of these in the endnotes, the authors of the most important theses and dissertations deserve special mention. They are, in alphabetical order: Radomir Bilash, Jessie Deverell, John Lehr, Andrij Makuch, Orest Martynowych, and Vivian Olender. A number of other theses and dissertations were also mined for information. Their authors are acknowledged in the endnotes. Needless to say, I alone am responsible for any errors of fact or interpretation, that may appear in the text.

This report, together with the annotated bibliography which accompanies it, has been prepared as an introductory survey for the researchers and interpretive personnel employed by the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village. Hopefully it will provide them and others interested in the Ukrainian experience in east central Alberta, with a few insights into that experience. At the same time it should be obvious to all concerned that this is a preliminary survey of a few selected topics. It is no more than a first step toward an adequate understanding of the history of Ukrainian immigrants in east central Alberta.

Chapter One: Ukrainians in Galicia and Bukovyna, 1890-1930

Chapter One: Ukrainians in Galicia and Bukovyna, 1890-1930*

1. Introduction

At the turn of the century, when they first began to immigrate to Canada, most Ukrainians were subjects of the Romanovs or the Habsburgs. Just over 17 million Ukrainians lived in the nine southwestern provinces[1] of the Russian Empire. In the Austro-Hungarian Empire there were three million Ukrainians in Galicia, 300,000 in Bukovyna and about 400,000 in Subcarpathia. Although Ukrainian emigrants from the Russian Empire--usually political or religious dissenters--occasionally found their way to Canada, most preferred to establish homesteads in southern Siberia if they chose to emigrate.[2] Similarly, Ukrainians from the Subcarpathian region rarely immigrated to Canada[3] preferring instead to follow their friends and relatives to the mining towns of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. As a result most Ukrainians who arrived in Canada between 1891 and 1914, and between 1924 and 1930 were emigrants from Galicia and Bukovyna.

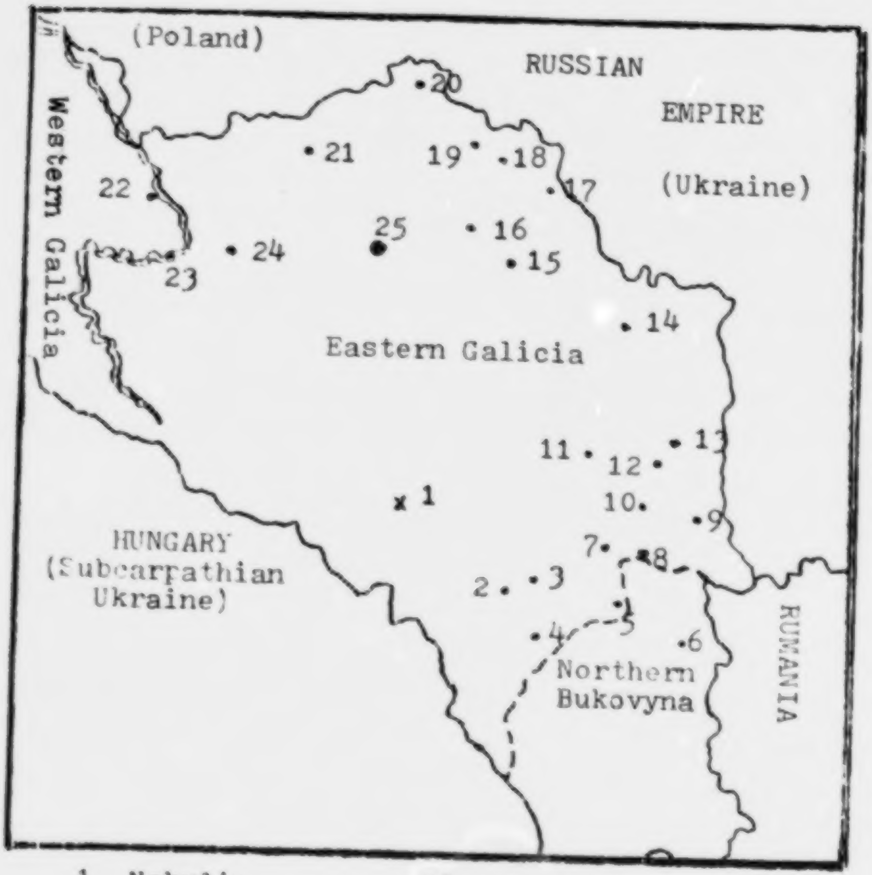
Ukrainians were not the only inhabitants of Galicia and Bukovyna. In 1910 Ukrainians, or Ruthenians (rusyny)[4] as they were still called at the time, constituted about 40.2 per cent of the Galician population. Poles made up just over 47 per cent, Jews 11 per cent and Germans slightly more than 1 per cent of the population. In Bukovyna Ukrainians formed 38.4 per cent of the population, Rumanians 34.4 per cent, Jews 13 per cent, Germans 8.4 per cent, Poles 4.6 per cent and Magyars 1.3 per cent.[5] Even in eastern Galicia and northern Bukovyna where they were concentrated, Ukrainians made up only 63 and 65 per cent of the population respectively.[6]

Galicia and Bukovyna had been incorporated into the Habsburg Empire in 1772 and 1775 in the aftermath of the first partition of Poland and the Russo-Turkish war. Both before and after the 1770s political and economic power in the two provinces was concentrated in the hands of the Polish and Rumanian aristocracy which owned the great estates and dominated the government and the bureaucracy. This was so in western Galicia and southern Bukovyna where the peasantry was predominantly Polish and Rumanian, and in eastern Galicia and northern Bukovyna where the peasantry was Ukrainian. Poles, Rumanians, Germans and Jews also predominated in the towns and cities. Ukrainians rarely made up more than 25 per cent of the urban population and in the larger cities they rarely exceded 15 per cent of the population.

In eastern Galicia, where the Polish Crown and szlachta had ruled since 1340, the Ukrainian population, originally Greek Orthodox, had adhered to the Uniate (Greek Catholic) Church since 1708.[7] In northern Bukovyna, where Rumanian boyars and Turkish sultans had ruled since the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, and where the Counter-Reformation had failed to penetrate, the Greek Orthodox Church--dominated by a Rumanian hierarchy--continued to command the allegiance of the Ukrainian population.

Because the native Ukrainian nobility and bourgeoisie had been assimilated by the Polish and Rumanian upper classes during the preceding four centuries, Ukrainian society in both provinces consisted of two social groups--the peasantry and the clergy--well into the nineteenth century. The married Uniate clergy and its families which represented about 1 per cent of the Ukrainian population constituted a privileged elite. In the absence of a Ukrainian nobility the Austrian government had turned to the Uniate clergy in order to consolidate its own authority over the Ukrainian peasantry.[8] A series of reforms were enacted granting the Uniate Church and clergy legal and economic equality with the Polish Roman Catholic Church and clergy.[9] Even the Church's name was changed to the Greek Catholic Church. In this manner a loyal and privileged clerical elite, which mediated between the central government and the aristocracy on the one hand and the Ukrainian peasant masses on the other hand, was elevated to a pre-eminent position within the Ukrainian community. Although a secular intelligentsia, largely descended from clerical families, emerged to challenge clerical leadership during the second half of the nineteenth century, it remained miniscule in size and almost completely isolated from the peasantry until well into the 1880s. As late as 1900 only 1 per cent of the Ukrainians in Austria were employed in the church, the government or the free professions.[10] Not many more were employed in trade or industry. The overwhelming majority of the Ukrainian people--about 95 per cent--were peasants who enjoyed no special privileges and who were confronted by a rapidly diminishing supply of land, their most precious possession.

Between 1891 and 1914 about 170,000 Ukrainian peasants emigrated from eastern Galicia and northern Bukovyna and entered Canada.[11] Another 60,000 arrived between 1925 and 1934.[12] By 1931 there were 225,113 Ukrainians in Canada including 55,872 in the province of Alberta.[13] The first Ukrainian settlers, Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypow, came to Alberta from the village of Nebyliv in the district of Kalush, Galicia, in 1891. However, the overwhelming majority of Ukrainians who settled in east central Alberta seem to have emigrated from three compact regions of eastern Galicia and northern Bukovyna.[14] The largest of these regions and the one which contributed the greatest number of immigrants covered the southeastern part of eastern Galicia (Pokuttia and southern Podillia) and the central part of northern Bukovyna.[15] The second region was located in the northeastern part of eastern Galicia (east of an imaginary line between the towns of Sokal and Brody).[16] The third region near the northwestern frontier of eastern Galicia consisted of the valley of the Sian River.[17]


(Poland)
RUSSIAN
EMPIRE
(Ukraine)
Western Galicia
Eastern Galicia
HUNGARY
(Subcarpathian
Ukraine)
Northern
Bukovyna
RUMANIA
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21
19
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4
6

1	Nebyliv	14	Ternopil
2	Pechenizhyn	15	Zolochiv
3	Kolomyia	16	Busk
4	Kosiv	17	Brody
5	Sniatyn	18	Lopatyn
6	Chernivtsi	19	Radekhiv
7	Horodenka	20	Sokal
8	Zalishchyky	21	Rava Ruska
9	Borshchiv	22	Yaroslav
10	Tovste	23	Peremyshl
11	Buchach	24	Mostyska
12	Chortkiv	25	Lviv
13	Kopychyntsi		

Map 1. Galicia and Bukovyna, ca. 1900.

Adapted from V.A. Diadychenko et al, *Istoriia selianstva Ukrainskoi RSR*. Kiev: AN URSR, 1967. Vol. 1. Page 521.

2. The Colonial Status of Galicia and Bukovyna

Because they were at the mercy of absentee and rentier landlords, Galicia and Bukovyna remained internal colonies of the industrialized inner core regions of Austria. In the Ukrainian sections of Galicia and Bukovyna the colonial status of the economy was complemented by policies of political, national and cultural colonialism pursued by foreign upper classes with the acquiescence of the dynasty and the central government.

Within the Austro-Hungarian economy Galicia and Bukovyna served as exporters of raw materials, agricultural products, and cheap labour. At the turn of the century northern Bukovyna had no industrial sector; primary industry relating to forest products and lumbering was beginning to develop in the south. Galicia was comparatively more advanced although well behind the rest of Austria. Whereas 36.7 per cent of the Austrian population was engaged in industry, the proportion in Galicia was only 5.7 per cent. In eastern Galicia only 150,000 fulltime workers were employed in industries such as textiles, matchstick making, salt mining, lumbering, transportation, and petroleum extraction. The last, the most advanced sector of eastern Galician industry, was located around the city of Boryslav and accounted for 5.5 per cent of global output in 1909. It was controlled by Austrian, British, French, German, Belgian and American concerns.[18] Further evidence of the low level of industrial development in eastern Galicia was provided by the almost total absence of metallurgical and mechanical industries, and by the fact that in 1902, 90 per cent of all industrial enterprises employed 5 or fewer workers. In eastern Galicia 54 per cent of the industrial working class was Polish, 24 per cent Ukrainian, 20 per cent Jewish and 2 per cent German.[19]

The participation of Ukrainians in this very modest growth was all but non-existent. Most of the industrial enterprises were owned by the great landowners or by foreign entrepreneurs. Poles, Jews and Germans outnumbered Ukrainians in all urban centres,[20] while the Jews, who comprised 11 per cent of the Galician population, controlled 88 per cent of Galician trade and commerce in 1900.[21] Thus, aside from three joint-stock companies with interests in the petroleum industry, a number of small mining concerns, and a few brick-making plants, Ukrainian-owned industrial enterprises were scarce.

From 1861 until 1907, when universal male suffrage was introduced, elections to the central and provincial assemblies were held on the basis of the curia system. Under the system four groups--the great landowners, the chambers of commerce, the towns, and the villages--were allowed representation in the provincial Diets and in the Austrian Diet (Reichsrat). Property qualifications eliminated most peasants from voting in the curia of villages. Consequently, in 1900, of 5,800,000 peasants in all of Galicia only 13 per cent held the franchise, while only 10 per cent of 520,000 peasants in Bukovyna enjoyed this privilege. While one deputy representing the curia of great landowners in the Austrian Diet was elected by 64 voters, one deputy representing the curia of villages was elected by 12,290 voters. Similarly, one member of the Galician provincial Diet (sejm) elected from the curia of the great landowners represented 3,294 persons and was elected by 51 voters; one member elected from the curia of the villages represented 75,891 persons and was elected by 7,269 voters. Even after the introduction of universal manhood suffrage in 1907, one German deputy in the Austrian Diet represented 40,000 persons; one Polish deputy represented 52,000 persons; and one Ukrainian deputy represented 102,000 persons. Ukrainians, who consituted 12.32 per cent of the Austrian population held only 6.4 per cent of the seats in the Austrian Diet.[22]

Fully in control of the wealth and political institutions in the regions settled by Ukrainians, the foreign ruling classes could impede the cultural and national development of the Ukrainian masses. In Galicia the Polish elite, with the complicity of the central government, kept Ukrainians in a state of cultural neglect by controlling key administrative organs. Although by 1910 there were 2,457 Ukrainian elementary schools in Galicia, most were one or two room structures offering instruction on a grade one and two level. In 1905 over 250,000 children (25 per cent) in all of Galicia, between seven and 13 years of age, were not attending school.[23] Up to 40 per cent of Ukrainian children fell into this category. Although Ukrainians constituted at least 40 per cent of the Galician population, prior to 1909 they comprised only 26 per cent of the students in teachers' seminaries, 19 per cent of gymnasium (high school) students, 13 per cent of law students, 13 per cent of philosophy (arts) students, 7 per cent of medical students, and 6 per cent of technical students. In 1911 the proportion of Ukrainian students at the University of Lviv was 21.7 per cent and at the Lviv Polytechnical Institute it was 5.4 per cent. Only 10 of 409 university instructors were Ukrainians, while none of the 129 instructors at the Polytechnical Institute were Ukrainian.[24]

In Bukovyna, where Rumanian and German influences were strong, Ukrainian access to educational institutions was not any better. By 1911, 216 of 531 elementary schools were Ukrainian and another 15 offered instruction in the Ukrainian language. About 40,000 of 113,000 or 35.3 per cent of the children enrolled in the elementary schools were Ukrainian. Over 40 per cent of the Ukrainian schools had only one grade. Only 201 of 539 teachers' seminary students, 1,194 of 5,600 high school students, and 71 of 700 technical school students, were Ukrainian. Likewise, only 13.6 per cent of the students at the University of Chernivtsi, in 1910, were Ukrainians.[25]

The high incidence of illiteracy which resulted was one of the greatest obstacles to material and cultural progress among the peasantry. Although the rate of literacy was rising among young people, in 1900, about 80 per cent of all Ukrainian speaking persons in Galicia were still illiterate. As most literate Ukrainians were concentrated in urban areas the rate of illiteracy was considerably higher in the villages, especially in remote highland regions. By all accounts conditions in Bukovyna were no better. Not only did illiteracy breed helplessness and fatalism, it also complicated efforts to organize the peasantry and to make it conscious of its own most pressing interests.

3. Agrarian Relations

Since about 95 per cent of the Ukrainian population consisted of peasants, an examination of agrarian relations is in order. Table 1 illustrates land distribution at the turn of the century.

Table 1. Size of Landholdings in Galicia and Bukovyna, ca. 1900

Eastern Galicia[26]

Size of landholding in hectares	Number of holdings	Percentage of holdings	Total Area of land	Percentage of land
Up to 2	278,991	42.7	371,400	7.2
2 --- 5	242,727	37.2	1,035,400	20.0
5 -- 10	94,843	14.6	866,800	16.7
10 - 100	31,848	4.9	820,963	15.8
Over 100	3,895	0.6	2,089,000	40.3
		Bukovyna[27]		
Up to 2	61,830	56	92,775	39.0
2 --- 5	31,205	29	109,420	
5 -- 10	10,267	10	77,002	
10 - 100	5,225	4.6	184,184	
Over 100	585	0.4	201,000	61.0

A. The Great Landowners

Most of the estates of more than 100 hectares, and quite a few of those 20 to 100 hectares in size were owned by members of the nobility. In eastern Galicia the great landowners included representatives of such illustrious Polish families as the Princes Sanguszko, Lubomirski, Poninski, Sapiehi, and Czartoryski, and the Counts Potocki, Badeni, Lanckoronski, Dzieduszycki, Goluchowski and Zamoyski.[28] Twenty five of these families, some of whom held lands in the Habsburg, Hohenzollern and Romanov Empires, owned over 20 per cent of the surface area of Galicia.

In addition to the Polish magnates, Germans and Czechs, mostly members of the service aristocracy and government officials, also figured among the great landowners. The Bukovynian landlords, predominantly Germans and Rumanians, tended to fall into this category. Ukrainians also figured among the great landlords although rather insignificantly. In eastern Galicia 47 Ukrainian estate owners controlled a total of 44,000 hectares.[29] This constituted 2.2 per cent of all the great estate lands or 0.85 per cent of all the land in eastern Galicia. The largest landholdings belonging to a Ukrainian family in the Habsburg Empire were located in Bukovyna, where Baron Vasylko's (Wassilko) family held 33,200 hectares.[30]

Although the amount of land held in estates of over 100 hectares remained relatively stable during the second half of the nineteenth century, the number of great landlords declined appreciably, and with the exception of the great magnate families there was a substantial turnover in the composition of the landowing class. The fastest rising group of great landowners in Galicia and Bukovyna consisted of Jews who sprang from the Jewish merchant and industrial bourgeoisie. First granted the right to buy lands from the aristocracy in 1860, by 1890, 577 Jewish landlords held over 336,000 hectares in all of Galicia. Likewise, by 1900 about half of the estates leased from noble landlords were controlled by Jewish tenants.[31]

B. Ecclesiastical Landholdings

In all of Galicia the Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic Churches held a total of 129,000 hectares or 1.65 per cent of the total surface area of the province. Of this total, 85,000 hectares belonged to the Greek Catholic Church. They were concentrated in eastern Galicia where they represented 1.64 per cent of the total surface area.[32] In Bukovyna the Greek Orthodox Church held 286,000 hectares of land or 25.7 per cent of the total surface area of the entire province. Arable land, pastures and meadows covered 60,000 hectares; the remaining 226,000 hectares were forest land.[33]

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the land held by the Greek Catholic Church in eastern Galicia was distributed among 1,676 parishes occupied by 2,026 clergymen and their families. Although about 90 of the parishes held less than 15 hectares, most parishes held between 14 and 85 hectares of land. The average holding was about 50 hectares, including about 40 hectares of arable land.[34] While this was considerably less than the amount held by the average landlord it compared very favourably with the average peasant landholding. In addition the clergy received a salary from the government and they were entitled to collect fees (treby) in cash and in kind from their parishioners for various sacramental rites they performed. In some parishes peasants were still required to provide a number of small wage free labour services. In the 1880s it was estimated that the average parish contributed 700 gulden annually in cash or in kind to the income of its parish priest(s).[35]

C. Peasant Landholdings

With the abolition of serfdom in 1848 the peasants had received title to the plots of land they occupied and all feudal dues and services owing to the nobility had been abolished. However, the nobility had exacted a tremendous price for these concessions and the burden had fallen squarely on the shoulders of the peasantry. The patent abolishing serfdom compensated the nobility for the loss of compulsory unremunerative peasant labour on their estates and relieved the landlord of all obligations to and responsibility for the peasants' welfare. During the second half of the nineteenth century the peasants of Galicia paid their former landlords over 200,000,000 gulden to compensate them for the loss of free peasant labour. When catastrophe struck the peasant could no longer expect any assistance from the noble. Instead, he had to borrow money or grain and sank into debt. When he could not repay his debts his land was auctioned off.

The patent abolishing serfdom had also allowed the nobility to appropriate almost 2,100,000 hectares of forests, meadows and pastures which had previously been common lands. By 1881 the peasants had lost 30,000 of 32,000 cases involving claims to pastures and forests. Henceforth a peasant who wished to gather firewood, graze his cattle or cut down a tree was obliged to remunerate the local noble in cash or labour. Such was the extent of the peasants' dependence on the great landowners--who controlled 90 per cent of all forests and 25 per cent of all pastures and non-arable fields--that at the turn of the century almost half the labour performed on the big estates continued to be wage free.[36]

Finally, the nobility had retained the right to monopolize the production and sale of alchohol on their domains (propinatsia). Frequently they leased this privilege to the local innkeeper who was usually Jewish. By 1876, 13 years before the nobles surrendered this privilege for 66,000,000 gulden, Galicia boasted 23,269 taverns or one tavern for every 233 persons. Thus, there were usually 10 to 20 taverns in the larger villages. The annual per capita consumption of 50 per cent alchohol in Galicia was 26 litres; this compared with 10.9 litres in France and 9.4 in Germany.[37] Thousands of peasants who drank on credit and could not honour their debts lost their land.

By 1900, as a result of rapid population growth, 42.7 per cent of the peasant holdings in eastern Galicia amounted to less than two hectares and 80 per cent amounted to less than 5 hectares. In Bukovyna the proportions were 56 and 85 per cent. Thus most families held less than the 5 hectares required to support them,[38] and of these 75 per cent hired out at least one member of the family to work on the estates of the great landlords or on the farms of the wealthy peasants. The latter were represented by the 4 to 5 per cent of peasant households which owned more than 10 hectares of land. Not infrequently they hired poorer peasants at subsistence wages, lent money at high interest, controlled local taverns and dominated village government.

The scarcity of land was aggravated by an abysmally low level of agricultural technology.[39] Scattered, dwarf-sized holdings rendered agricultural technology impractical even where it was financially feasible. Almost everywhere land continued to be cultivated with wooden hoes and ox-drawn ploughs; grain was sown by hand, cut with a scythe and threshed with flails; and, sophisticated methods of crop rotation were unknown. In eastern Galicia 75 per cent of the households with less than two hectares had no horses and 25 per cent had no cows; those with two to five hectares averaged a horse and cow per household. In Bukovyna at least 45 per cent of the households had no horses and 11 per cent had no cows. In all of Galicia 1,150,000 households with less than 10 hectares owned a grand total of 34 sowers and 58 harvesting machines.[40]

The standard of living among the mass of the peasantry was very low. The consumption of staples such as meat, grain and potatoes in Galicia was about one-half of that in western Europe. Over 50,000 people died annually from hunger and diseases related to malnutrition.[41] The infant mortality rate in eastern Galicia was 20.1 per cent for children one year of age and under. The death rate in Galicia was 36/1000, the highest in the Habsburg Empire around 1890. What was even more significant, was the fact that in a number of eastern Galician districts it hovered between 40 and 48/1000.[42] Diseases such as small pox, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, trachoma, and occasionally cholera, ravaged the countryside. Yet, in 1900 there were only 87 public and 58 private hospitals in Galicia with a total of 5,300 beds. Bukovyna boasted nine hospitals, 30 pharmacies and 141 practicing physicians in 1906.

Although no major peasant revolts occurred in Galicia and Bukovyna between 1848 and 1914. Ukrainian peasants were not completely resigned to their fate. Small scale peasant disturbances were a recurring phenomenon. Well into the 1870s confrontations between peasants and landlords or their auxiliaries concerning the right to free use of pastures, meadows and forests (servituty) were frequent. Often gendarmes and soldiers were called in to assert the landlords' property rights. During the 1880s peasants in a number of districts refused to comply with the obligation to provide 4 days of wage free labour annually on road repair and construction (sharvarky). Cases of peasants offering resistance to tax collectors were also quite common.[43] Only in the 1890s would peasant protest take on a more organized and political character.

Many peasants also chose to protest with their feet. Between 1881 and 1910, 858,579 inhabitants of Galicia--more than 10 per cent of the population--emigrated. Of this total, 390,827 emigrants left eastern Galicia and they included 251,615 Ukrainians. Likewise, at least 40,000 persons emigrated from Bukovyna between 1901 and 1910.[44] Many others opted for seasonal migration to Prussia where they could augment their income by working as farm labourers or miners.[45]

D. Regions Contributing Immigrants to East Central Alberta

Conditions in the regions abandoned by Ukrainians who settled in east central Alberta suggest that an inadequate supply of land, the persistence of large estates, and policies of colonial oppression were decisive factors in precipitating emigration.

Northern Bukovyna: The supply of land at the peasants' disposal was extremely inadequate in northern Bukovyna. In the district of Chernivtsi 33 secular and eight ecclesiastical landlords owned 27,360 hectares of arable, meadow and forest land while the entire peasant population had to be satisfied with 20,235 hectares.[46] As a result 62.6 per cent of the landholdings were less than two hectares in size (1900). In the neighbouring district of Kitsman 65.5 per cent of the holdings fell into this category.[47] Although the Vasylko family were landlords in the villages of Shypyntsi (Kitsman) and Berehomet (Vyzhnytsia) no single landlord was pre-eminent in the regions from which Ukrainians immigrated to east central Alberta. The Greek Orthodox Church was the landlord in the villages of Mamaivtsi, Lenkivtsi, Toporivtsi, Molodiia (all in Chernivtsi) and Sukhoverkhiv (Kitsman).[48]

Hundreds of peasant families left villages such as Shypyntsi, Luzhany, Lenkivtsi, Toporivtsi, Borivtsi and Boiany during the two decades preceding 1914. Over 400 peasants out of a total population of 2,500 left the village of Kysyliv (Zastavna) between 1899 and 1914,[49] while 502 persons emigrated from the village of Banyliv (Vashkivtsi). In the Vyzhnytsia district the villages of Berehomet and Ispas had lost 513 and 325 residents by 1913. In Berehomet the population had risen from 2,636 in 1880 to 7,315 in 1910 while the average peasant landholding had fallen from 2.2 to 0.7 hectares.

Pokuttia: Immediately northwest of Bukovyna, in the region of eastern Galicia known as Pokuttia (Sniatyn, Kolomyia, Horodenka, Pechenizhyn) land was also in short supply. Here even before 1890 the average peasant landholding was smaller than anywhere else in Galicia while the population density was the highest in Galicia.[50] About 38,000 of the 62,000 peasant landholdings in the Kolomyia district and surrounding region were under 2.85 hectares in size (1890). By 1902, 91.5 per cent of all the households in the Sniatyn district had less than five hectares of land.[51] Only one district (Zalishchyky) had a higher proportion of smallholdings (91.9 per cent). None of the villages in this region sending immigrants to east central Alberta had prominent aristocratic landlords. However at least one family--the Krzysztofowiczi--who were landlords in the villages of Drahasymiv, Kniazhe, Zavallia, Zalluchchia (Sniatyn) and Yaseniv (Horodenka) were pre-eminent. The patriarch of the family, Dr. Mikolaj Krzysztofowicz (1846-1935) was a lawyer who owned about 850 hectares of land, a mill, a sawmill and a distillery. From 1893 to 1914 he sat in the Galician sejm as a representative of the great landowners, petitioned for Polish colonization of eastern Galicia, and allied himself with the most conservative group of Polish grandees--the "Podollians" (Podolacy). His relations with the Ukrainian peasantry were not good.[52]

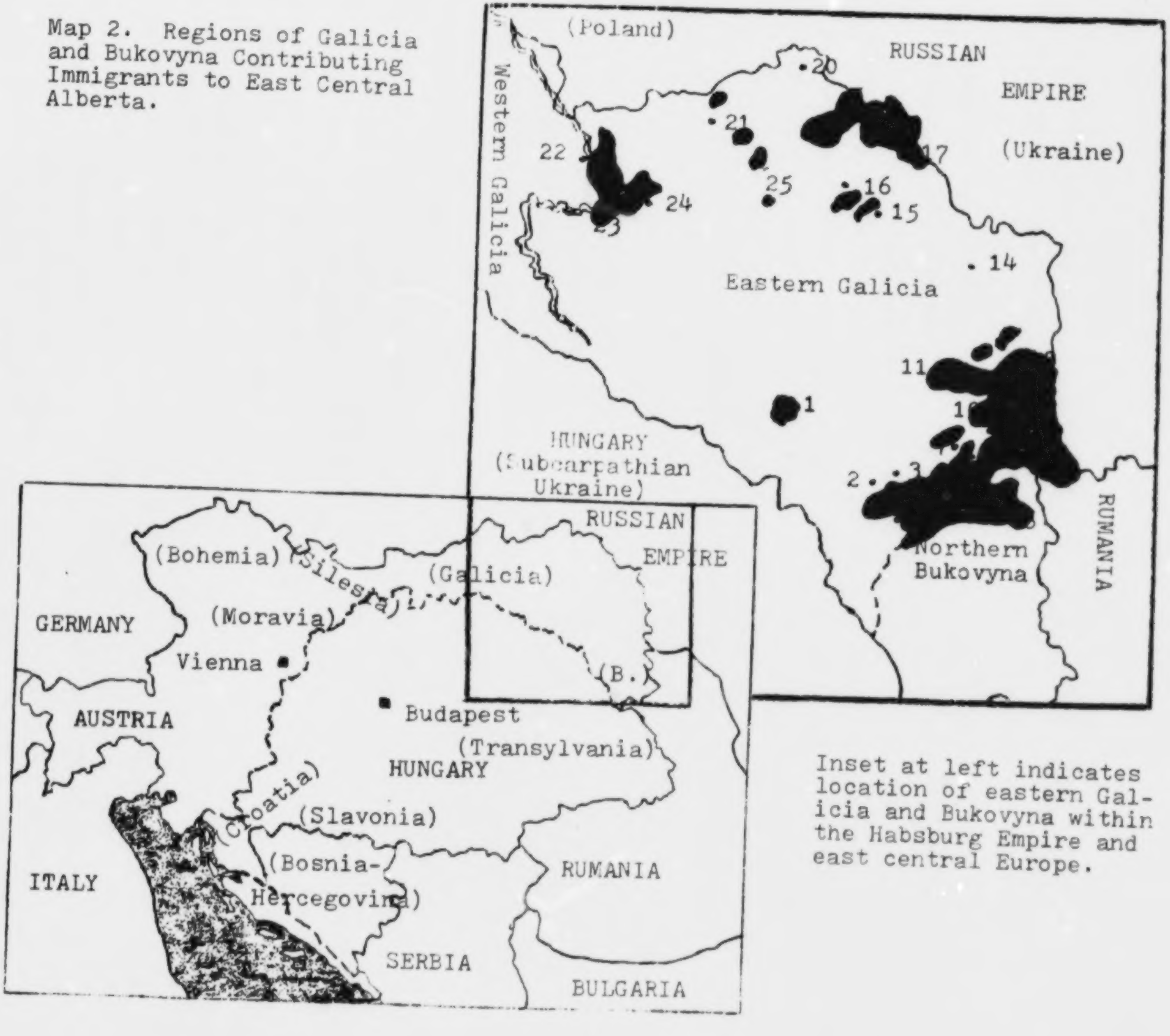
Southern Podillia: The lowland region known as southern Podillia was situated to the east of Pokuttia and directly north of Bukovyna. It encompassed the districts of Zalishchyky, Borshchiv, Chortkiv and Husiatyn. Except for Zalishchyky, the average peasant landholding was slightly larger than in Pokuttia although still well below the Galician average. Unlike Pokuttia, Podillia had many large estates and more than a few were owned by illustrious Polish aristocrats. The peasants were extremely dependent on the great landowners because the latter controlled 98 per cent of the forests in these districts (14 per cent above the Galician average) and a great deal of the arable land: 42.7 percent in Zalishchyky, 39.6 per cent in Husiatyn and 37.2 per cent in Chortkiv (10 to 15 per cent above the Galician average).[53] Because the region was far removed from industrial centres the landlords were in a position to pay their agrarian labourers wages that were lower than in other parts of Galicia.

Members of some of the most prominent, ancient and wealthy Polish aristocratic families were landlords in villages abandoned by Ukrainian peasants who settled in east central Alberta. The Goluchowski were landlords in Synkiv (Zalishchyky), Vilkhivchyk (Husiatyn) and Ivankiv (Borshchiv) where Count Agenor Goluchowski Jr. (1849-1921), son of a former governor and viceroy of Galicia, and himself Austrian foreign minister (1895-1906), had an estate.[54] The Princes Sapiehi, an ancient Lithuanian family that had been Polonized, were landlords in Bilche Zolote, Lanivtsi and Tsyhany (Borshchiv). Count Karol Lanckoronski (1848-1933), a renowned globe-trotter, art collector and patron of historic sites had his seat in Yaholnytsia and the adjoining Yaholnytsia Stara in Chortkiv.[55] The Counts Bawarowski and Siemienski, and Prince Poninski were also landlords in villages that sent immigrants to east central Alberta (Kopychyntsi, Nivra, Hovyliv Velykyi, Solone). Although some of these aristocrats, especially the Sapiehi, acquired a reputation as philanthropists, most were absentee landowners who left the management of their estates to stewards who were interested in profits alone. Moreover, a number of these "Podollian" grandees or Podolacy as they were called in Polish, led by the Counts Goluchowski and Dzieduszycki, championed a socially reactionary and nationalist orientation that sought "to defend the Polish establishment in Galicia from the rising tides of Ukrainian and Jewish nationalism."[56] Their policies anticipated those of the chauvinist, anti-semitic Polish National Democratic party (Stronnictwo Narodowo-Demokratyczne) and made of Podillia the "foremost stronghold of Polish landed conservatism."[57]

The northeast: The northeastern districts of eastern Galicia that contributed substantially to the population of east central Alberta--Brody, Kamianka Strumylova and Sokal--were characterized by a disproportionately small amount of arable land. In 1890 only 21 per cent of the surface area was arable land; 27 per cent was pasture and meadow land; and 47 per cent was forest land.[58] There also seems to have been a substantial turnover in the composition of the estate owning class giving rise to tensions between the local peasantry and the new landlords.[59] Prominent landlords included the Schmidt family (Biliavtsi, Boudurg, Berlin, Leshniv, and Pisky, all in the district of Brody), Austrian barons who owned over 50,000 hectares in Galicia; the Counts Dzieduszycki (Pozdymyr in Sokal); and the Counts Badeni. Kazimierz Badeni (1846-1909), the Galician viceroy (1888-95) and Austrian prime minister (1895-97) notorious for tolerating an anti-Ukrainian reign of terror during elections to the Galician sejm (1895) and the Reichsrat (1897), owned estates in the vicinity of Busk. Stanislaw Badeni (1850-1912), his brother, was the landlord in Nemyliv near the town of Radekhiv.[60]

The Sian River valley: In the northwestern districts (Yaroslav, Peremyshl and Mostyska) that flanked the Sian River land was relatively more plentiful although here too there were many large estates. Prominent landlords included Counts Adam and Ludgarda Stadnicki (Barych, Drohoiv, Sosnytsia, Ninovychi); Count Zygmunt Zamoyski (Lazy, Vetlyn); Prince Jerzy Czartoryski (1828-1912) (Makovysko); and Jan Gwalbert Pawlikowski (1860-1939) (Stariava, Butsiv, Medyka). The last two were prominent members of the Stronnictwo Narodowo-Demokratyczne.[61] National tensions were acute in this region because the Sian River formed the natural boundary between ethnically Ukrainian and Polish territories. It should also be noted that frequent spring floods and heavy summer rains played havoc with efforts to farm the land in the region.

Map 2. Regions of Galicia and Bukovyna Contributing Immigrants to East Central Alberta.


(Poland)
RUSSIAN
EMPIRE
(Ukraine)
Western Galicia
Eastern Galicia
20
21
22
23
24
25
16
15
17
14
11
10
1
2
3
HUNGARY
(Subcarpathian Ukraine)
Northern Bukovyna
RUMANIA
RUSSIAN
EMPIRE
(Bohemia)
(Silesia)
(Galicia)
(Moravia)
GERMANY
Vienna
AUSTRIA
Budapest
(B.)
(Transylvania)
HUNGARY
(Croatia)
(Slavonia)
(Bosnia-Hercegovina)
ITALY
RUMANIA
SERBIA
BULGARIA

Inset at left indicates location of eastern Galicia and Bukovyna within the Habsburg Empire and east central Europe.

4. Political Ideologies

Although miniscule in size, the educated Ukrainian elite was bitterly divided on political, national and social issues. These disputes would be irrelevant to the present discussion were it not for the fact that the ideas which agitated the elite first began to reach the peasant masses shortly before immigration to Canada got under way. These ideas would have a significant bearing on the evolution of Ukrainian community life in Canada, where they would influence the immigrants' attitudes toward the Church, education and politics.

A. Greek Catholic Clericalism

All through the nineteenth century the Greek Catholic Church and clergy, especially the higher clergy, consistently supported the Habsburg dynasty. During the 1880s and 1890s many Ukrainians feared that Greek Catholic hierarchs were allowing themselves to be used as instruments of the Polish aristocracy. Two developments created this impression: the bishops' failure to combat efforts to "latinize" the Greek Catholic rite, and their collaboration with the Polish aristocracy in politics.

Latinization became an issue during the 1880s when a Polish Roman Catholic monastic order, the Resurrectionists, was permitted to establish missions among the Greek Catholic population of eastern Galicia and empowered to carry out a reform of the eastern rite Basilian order of monks. Although the Basilians were in dire need of reform, the Resurrectionists' objectives extended far beyond their stated aim. Devotional societies established among Ukrainians propagated practices foreign to the eastern rite, attempted to dispel memories of the privileges enjoyed by lay church brotherhoods in sixteenth and seventeenth century Galicia, and tried to create a climate of opinion hospitable to the introduction of compulsory clerical celibacy.[62] This last reform was feared since it was widely believed that by eliminating a married clergy the Polish ruling class was trying to break the nascent Ukrainian national movement. Although these fears proved to be premature, they continued to trouble many Ukrainians and contributed to religious disaffection among influential immigrants.

Cooperation between the Church and the Polish aristocracy became pronounced when Sylvester Cardinal Sembratovych (1882-98) was metropolitan. Greek Catholic clerical papers which spoke for the hierarchy called upon Ukrainians to "moderate their patriotism and live in peace with the Poles [ie. the aristocracy] since they are Catholics" and to "unconditionally submit themselves to the szlachta which governs Galicia."[63] They also implied that no injustices were being suffered by Ukrainians and that all demands for greater equality and liberty were the work of a few self-serving leaders. Prior to elections in 1885 and 1897 Sembratovych and Count Potocki sought to "place in positions of leadership men of gentle disposition who were amicably disposed toward the central government and the Poles [ie. the aristocracy]."[64] A number of progressive Ukrainian candidates were defeated at least partly because they were opposed by the Church.

Relations between the Greek Catholic hierarchy and the intelligentsia became more cordial after the turn of the century when Andrii Count Sheptytsky (1901-44) was appointed metropolitan. On a number of occasions Sheptytsky supported Ukrainian cultural and political interests that were contrary to the wishes of the Polish aristocracy.[65] Nevertheless, because of his background suspicions concerning the Metropolitan's motives flourished.[66] Some of the Metropolitan's public statements also alarmed elements within the community. Unafraid to censure actions that might be beneficial to the national cause but which were inconsistent with Christian principles[67], Sheptytsky ordered priests to keep clear of politics; warned against "the incitement of any passions and jealousies against the possessing classes"[68]; and in 1908 condemned the assassination of Count Andrzei Potocki, the viceroy of Galicia, by a Ukrainian student.[69] Yet by 1914, relations between the hierarchy and the intelligentsia had been ironed out. Only the small Christian Social Party and its patron, Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn, a champion of compulsory clerical celibacy, continued to provoke the wrath of most secular Ukrainian activists.

B. Russophilism

If Greek Catholic hierarchs sometimes acted as apologists for the Polish aristocracy, another segment of the clergy was involved in a movement that was being exploited by the tsarist government of Russia. The Old Ruthenian party, which first appeared in the 1850s, argued that the Ruthenians in the Habsburg Empire were really part of the Russian nation, and they advocated close political and cultural ties with tsarist Russia. The movement was traditionalist and anti-Polish. It appealed to those clergymen and educated Ukrainians who resented Polish ascendancy in Galicia, yet were embarrassed by their peasant culture and the absence of a tradition of independent statehood.[70] During the 1860s and 1870s the Old Ruthenians controlled most Ukrainian cultural and educational institutions in Galicia and Bukovyna. They maintained contacts with the Russian Pan-Slavists from whose Moscow and St. Petersburg Slavic Committees they received subsidies.

The Russophile movement suffered a near fatal blow in 1882 when a number of its leaders were brought to trial for treason. Although they were acquitted, the movement went into limbo for two decades. In 1900 a new generation took up the Russophile banner and established the Russian National Party (Russkaia Narodnaia Partiia) in Galicia. Led by Volodymyr Dudykevych and Dmytro Markov, they came out squarely in favour of adopting standard literary Russian and asserted their belief in the complete and unequivocal national and cultural unity of Galician "Ruthenians" and the Russian nation. Their ties with the Russian Pan-Slavists and the Russian Nationalist Party of Count V. Bobrinsky[71] became firmer when Austro-Russian relations began to deteriorate steadily after 1905. Simultaneously, unlike their Old Ruthenian predecessors, the new generation of Russophiles collaborated with the Polish aristocracy, especially the Podolacy who perceived an ally in this socially conservative movement which also opposed the extension of Ukrainian linguistic and cultural rights. The Russophiles scored their greatest political triumph in 1908, when, with the support of the Polish administration they elected eight representatives to the Galician sejm (as against 12 Ukrainophile representatives). Yet, in spite of this patronage and the subsidies which they received from the Russian government, which was also anxious to neutralize the Ukrainian national movement, the Russophiles were steadily losing popular support on the eve of 1914.

C. Ukrainophilism or National Populism

The Ukrainophiles or national populists (narodovtsi) emerged in the 1860s in opposition to the stagnant cultural and political attitudes of the Old Ruthenians. They argued that the Ruthenians of Austria were in fact Ukrainians, that they belonged to the same nation as the Ukrainian people who lived in the Russian Empire. They believed the Ukrainian vernacular should be used in literature and they vowed to champion the interests of the peasantry in accordance with the poet Shevchenko's testament. Unlike the Russophiles, the Ukrainophiles expressed a desire to enlighten the peasantry, described themselves as liberals and populists, and condemned the tsarist autocracy while professing loyalty to the constitutional regime in Austria-Hungary. The movement drew most of its support from younger members of the secular intellegentsia--primarily sons of the clergy--and it also attracted a growing proportion of the lower parish clergy.

By the 1880s the Ukrainophiles had become more conservative, less democratic and increasingly conformist. From the late 1870s until well into the 1890s the aging Ukrainophiles tried to make populism "respectable." The result of these efforts was an increasingly narrow, provincial, opportunistic programme which lost sight of the most pressing material needs of the peasantry and failed to extend beyond tame requests for minor linguistic and cultural concessions. This effort to make national populism "respectable" culminated in the pact (uhoda) concluded by a group of prominent Ukrainophiles in 1890 with representatives of the

Polish aristocracy. In exchange for a number of largely unrealized cultural concessions[72] the Ukrainophile leaders declared their loyalty to the state and dynasty, recognized the Greek Catholic metropolitan as their natural and rightful leader, and repudiated cooperation with Ukrainian parties that opposed the status quo in Galicia.[73] In effect the struggle for political liberty and social justice was publicly abandoned. As a result, the national populists suffered a serious setback from which they did not recover until the turn of the century when they were rejuvenated by a new generation reared on Ukrainian Radicalism.

D. Radicalism

The reactionary policies of the Greek Catholic primates, the Russophiles and the "respectable" national populists were challenged by exponents of Radicalism. Radical ideas were introduced into the Austro-Ukrainian community by Mykhailo Drahomanov, a Ukrainian scholar and political emigre from the Russian Empire, who articulated an orientation based on libertarian, socialist, populist and anti-clerical principles. His ideas were in turn popularized and developed by his most prominent Galician disciples--Mykhailo Pavlyk and Ivan Franko. Although Radicalism first became a factor within the Galician Ukrainian community in 1876, the Radical Party was formed only in 1890.

Radicalism adopted the basic national and linguistic tenets of Ukrainophilism "but moved beyond purely cultural matters to the question of socio-economic liberation."[74] The Radicals were ethical, agrarian socialists who pursued practical and attainable social and political goals.[75] They pointed out the limitations inherent in a national movement based on blind allegiance to "national" traditions and institutions, and they insisted that the Ukrainian movement must be built on rational, universal values such as political liberty, democracy, social equality and economic abundance for all.

Because clerical authority and intransigence presented a formidable barrier to the realization of their objectives, rationalism and anti-clericalism became the touchstone of Radicalism. Since they realized it would be impossible to transform a nation of peasants into a society of freethinkers, the Radicals sought to undermine clericalism and promote critical thought among the peasantry by reviving traditions of lay initiative in ecclesiastical affairs. They also tried to acquaint the Ukrainian peasantry with the more democratic, egalitarian, and autonomistic principles on which a number of Protestant denominations had been established. By the 1890s peasants in a number of districts were asserting the right of parishioners to control parish property and approve the appointment of parish priests. Many more were reading or listening to pamphlets about Wycliffe, the Protestant Reformation and the Baptist sects in Ukraine.[76]

In 1899 Radicalism gave birth to two new parties. The National Democratic Party, a broad coalition of philosophical anarchists, agrarian radicals, progressive priests and moderate members of the old Ukrainophiles, was formed by right-wing Radicals and the remnants of the national populists. Its platform rested on the principles of democratic nationalism and social reform, while its programme stated that the party's ultimate objectives were the attainment of cultural, economic and political independence for all Ukrainians and the unification of the entire Ukrainian nation. The National Democrats were the most successful Ukrainian party during the years that followed.

The Social Democratic Party was formed by left-wing Radicals who had been acquainted with Marxist theory. They anticipated industrialization and the inevitable proletarianization of the Ukrainian peasantry. The party elected few deputies since its natural constituency remained miniscule. However members were active in the trade union movement and Social Democrats were the first to suggest the tactic of mass general strikes by agrarian labourers.

5. The Awakening Village

Russophilism, Ukrainophilism, Radicalism and Social Democracy reached the peasantry through a number of new institutions "that dramatically increased the peasants' cultural level and political awareness." As John-Paul Himka has shown, the transformation of the Ukrainian village "began in the 1860s when Austria entered its constitutional era."[77] The constitution guaranteed freedom of association, assembly and the press, and the parliamentary system which it established compelled the clergy and intelligentsia to draw the peasants into political life in order to give meaning to the political orientations they had articulated.

A. New Institutions

The most important institution in the awakening village was the reading club (chytalnia). Peasants met in the chytalnia on Sundays and holidays to listen to literate villagers who would read from popular newspapers, booklets and pamphlets. At these readings peasants learned about politics, the law, agricultural techniques, cooperatives, and opportunities for settlement overseas. By reading and writing letters to the editor they learned about life in other villages. As Himka has stated very succinctly, "by joining the reading club, the peasant joined the nation."[78]

Most reading clubs were established by parish priests prior to the 1890s. They alone had the resources to launch such an institution. Usually the priest acted as the agent of an umbrella organization such as the Ukrainophile Prosvita (Enlightenment) established in 1868, the rival Russophile Mykhailo Kachkovsky Society established in 1874, or the Bukovynian Ruska Besida (Ruthenian Club) established by Russophiles in 1869 but staunchly Ukrainophile after 1885. However, when the peasants assumed control of the chytalnia and began to take the clergy to task for its failings, many parish priests turned against the reading club.[79] In 1893 the Radicals, who encouraged this kind of conflict, established their own umbrella organization, Narodna Voiia (People's Freedom).

The cultural activities of the reading clubs extended beyond the printed page. Choirs and amateur theatrical groups were established, concerts and plays were put on and lecturers from the city were invited to speak. Reading clubs also played a role in popularizing and establishing cooperative stores, credit cooperatives, agricultural cooperatives and dairy cooperatives.[80]

Other new institutions also appeared in the village at the turn of the century. The Radicals established branches of Sich, a gymnastic organization for the peasantry. It was organized on "democratic, progressive and anti-clerical" principles in order to teach the peasantry to "think and act independently."[81] By 1913 900 branches were in existence. The national populists' equivalent, without the anti-clerical connotations, was an organization called Sokil which boasted 32,000 members and 886 branches in 1913.[82] A Russophile equivalent, the Russki Druzhyny, was also being organized.

There can be little doubt that these new institutions helped to develop the political awareness and civic consciousness of the peasantry. They took their vote seriously, carefully considered what each candidate stood for, and began to organize in defence of their class interests. Agricultural labourers began to go out on strike in the 1890s after the issue had been debated in the Radical press. In 1902, 100,000 agricultural labourers went out on strike in most districts of Galicia. Four years later 384 east Galician villages went out on strike and managed to win higher wages.

B. Regions Contributing Immigrants to East Central Alberta

In northern Bukovyna, towns like Chernivtsi and Kitsman and larger villages like Berehomet, Sukhoverkhiv, Raranche, Tovtry and Toporivtsi, all of which had about 5,000 inhabitants in 1900, had had reading clubs since the early 1880s. Some remained in Russophile hands until the late 1890s, while those in Ispas and Mamaivtsi to name only two villages, retained that orientation until at least 1914.[83] In southern Podillia (Zalishchyky, Borshchiv, Chortkiv, Husiatyn), 30 of 33 villages known to have sent immigrants to east central Alberta had a reading club by 1907 although many would have been founded at least a decade or so earlier.[84] All except the chytalnia in Volkhivtsi on the Dniester River, which remained a bastion of Russophilism until the 1930s, were Ukrainian in orientation. The reading clubs in Ivankiv (Borshchiv) and in Denysiv (Ternopil) were two of the first to have organized choirs in the 1880s. In Sniatyn district there were three chytalni by 1888: in Stetsiv, Karliv and Tuliv.[85] Although I have been unable to find information about reading clubs in other regions, it is quite safe to assume that there, as elsewhere, reading clubs were being established in most villages between 1896 and 1912--the period when most of the village chytalni affiliated with Prosvita were established.[86]

The first mass meetings of peasants were organized in Kosiv and Kolomyia, two towns in the Pokuttian foothills, by the national populists in 1885 and 1886. The Radical Party also organized its first mass meetings of the peasantry in this region.[87] Over 900 peasants from the districts of Kosiv, Kolomyia and Sniatyn attended the first meeting held in Kolomyia in February 1891. They demanded secret, universal, direct suffrage; the use of the Ukrainian language in the schools; and the creation of Ukrainian teachers' seminaries. A year later 2,000 peasants attended a meeting in Sniatyn. During the 1890s meetings of this kind were also held in the districts of Peremyshl, Yaroslav and Mostyska in the Sian River region. In this region Ivan Franko was selected to run for a seat in the Reichsrat in 1897 (he lost) and 83 peasants from the village of Stoianiv were brought to trial in the aftermath of the 1895 elections.

One of the first strikes organized by agrarian labourers occurred in the village of Babyntsi in the Borshchiv district in the summer of 1897. This village, as well as the neighbouring villages of Dzvyniachka and Nivra were the scene of another strike in 1900 concerning wages. The

Sian River region was also the scene of agrarian strikes between 1898 and 1901.[88] In 1902 the districts of Zalishchyky, Peremyshl and Chortkiv, with 53, 29 and 22 strikes respectively were among the most turbulent regions of eastern Galicia. Strikes also broke out in the villages of Rohizna and Barbivtsi in Bukovyna. Estates owned by the Sapiehi, Potocki, Lanckoronski, Siemienski, Dzieduszycki, Bawarowski and Badeni experienced strikes.[89] In 1906 Babyntsi was again the scene of an agrarian strike while the Husiatyn, Chortkiv and Mostyska districts, with 37, 23 and 23 strikes respectively were among the 5 most turbulent districts in all of Galicia.[90] At least 30 villages that contributed settlers to east central Alberta went out on strike in 1906.

6. War, Revolution, and the Emergence of Extremist Movements

A. War

When war broke out in August 1914 between Austria-Hungary and Russia, Ukrainian leaders in Galicia and Bukovyna declared their loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty and issued a manifesto to the Ukrainian people which appealed for a united stand against Tsarist Russia. They also established a committee charged with recruiting volunteers for the Ukrainian Sich Sharpshooters (Ukrainski Sichovi Striltsi--USS), two Ukrainian battalions in the Austrian army. Simultaneously, a group of Ukrainian political emigres from Russia organized the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (Spilka Vyzvolennia Ukrainy--SVU) in Vienna.[91] The pro-Austrian stand of the Ukrainian elite was hardly surprising. If the material condition of the Ukrainian peasant in the Habsburg Empire left much to be desired, it was not substantially worse than that of his compatriot across the frontier in the Romanov Empire. Under the Habsburgs however, Ukrainians enjoyed political and cultural privileges which they could only dream of in Russia under the Romanovs.[92] In July 1914, in anticipation of the approaching conflict, the tsarist regime had shut down the handful of legal Ukrainian papers, banned the Prosvita society and arrested many prominent Ukrainian leaders, sending most into exile in remote corners of the Empire. It also made no secret of the fact that it hoped to annex Galicia and 'solve' the Ukrainian 'problem' by destroying the Ukrainian cultural sanctuary in eastern Galicia.

Galician Russophiles did not share the concerns of the other Ukrainian parties. A group residing in Kiev when the war broke out called upon the Ukrainian population of Galicia and Bukovyna to welcome the Russian armies and advised Ukrainian soldiers in the Austrian army to desert to the Russian side. Between November 1914 and May 1915 when Russian armies briefly occupied Galicia, local Russophiles supplied the tsarist military authorities with information about "separatist" "anti-Russian" Ukrainian elements. Ukrainian institutions and the Greek Catholic Church were harassed and liquidated. Metropolitan Sheptytsky was arrested and deported to Russia.[93] When the Russian armies were pushed back in the spring of 1915 many Russophiles followed them into the interior of Russia.

Ukrainian politicians in Galicia and Bukovyna continued to support the Austrian war effort and the dynasty until the Habsburg Empire collapsed in October 1918. They stood on a platform of free independent statehood for Ukrainian territories within the Russian Empire and territorial national autonomy for the Ukrainian people within Austria. Eastern Galicia and northern Bukovyna, they hoped, would become a separate administrative unit. They suffered a serious setback in November 1916 when Austria-Hungary and Germany declared their support of an independent Polish state to be carved out of Polish territories within the Russian Empire, and promised autonomy for Galicia within its present boundaries. This second promise, if realized, would deliver eastern Galicia to the Polish aristocracy. The Ukrainians protested, but there was little they could do. Only the fall of the Russian Empire three months later, and the sudden prospect of an independent Ukrainian state revived Ukrainian hopes.

B. Revolution

While Ukrainian leaders in Galicia and Bukovyna pondered the alternatives before them, the Tsarist Empire collapsed in February 1917. During the next four years the focus of Ukrainian aspirations shifted from Galicia to central Ukraine.

Shortly after the tsar's abdication and the formation of a Provisional Government in Petrograd, Ukrainian politicians and intellectuals formed the Central Council (Tsentralna Rada) in Kiev. Established by moderate progressives, the Rada included prominent Social Democrats and Socialist Revolutionaries. During the summer of 1917 it sought to obtain recognition of Ukrainian national territorial autonomy from the Provisional Government in Petrograd. These negotiations proved to be futile and when the Bolsheviks seized power from the Provisional Government in November 1917 the Rada faced a far more formidable adversary. Although Lenin had formally recognized the right of all nations to self-determination in 1914, now that the Bolsheviks were in power, he argued that an independent Ukraine would be contrary to the interests of Russian workers. On December 30, 1917, a Soviet Ukrainian government was established by the Bolsheviks in Kharkiv, and Bolshevik forces began to advance on Kiev. The Rada responded by proclaiming an independent Ukrainian People's Republic (Ukrainska Narodna Republyka--UNR). The noted historian Mykhailo Hrushevsky became the first president. On February 9, 1918, the Rada concluded a treaty with the Central Powers obtaining German military assistance in exchange for promises of Ukrainian grain.

The Rada had been driven into the arms of the Germans by the invading Bolshevik forces and by the fact that it had gradually lost the support of the Ukrainian peasantry, whose demand for an immediate redistribution of the land had not been met.[94] However, the Rada was not a reactionary regime. When it refused to exert force on the peasantry to facilitate the delivery of grain to the Germans, it was overthrown and a puppet regime under General Pavlo Skoropadsky was recognized by the Germans. The new regime, which called itself the Hetmanate, was in power between April and December 1918. It was supported by Russian and Ukrainian estate owners, certain elements of the wealthy peasantry, and a few Ukrainian intellectuals who recoiled at the sight of the elemental forces unleashed by the revolution. The regime attempted to restore "law and order" with the assistance of German troops. The repressive measures employed by the Germans to collect food from the peasants precipitated bloody uprisings. Almost immediately after the collapse of Imperial Germany and the end of the world war the Hetman's regime was overthrown.

It was succeeded by the Directory, a governing body composed of 5 prominent Ukrainian Social Democrats and Socialist Revolutionaries. In January 1919 the Directory proclaimed the unification of the UNR with the

Western Ukrainian People's Republic (Zakhidno Ukrainska Narodna Republyka--ZUNR) which had been proclaimed by Galician and Bukovynian Ukrainians on November 1, 1918, shortly after the fall of the Habsburg Empire. This was little more than a symbolic action. The government of the ZUNR had been retreating since the day of its formation. Northern Bukovyna had been occupied by Rumanian troops on November 11, while Lviv and the northwestern portions of eastern Galicia had been captured by the Poles within three weeks. By July 1919 the Poles had taken all of eastern Galicia while the government of the ZUNR had been forced into exile in Vienna. There it existed until 1923 when the Council of Ambassadors of the League of Nations finally decided that eastern Galicia should be incorporated into the Polish state. In the meantime the Directory of the UNR continued to wage a hopeless war against the Bolsheviks, the White counter-revolutionaries, Makhno's peasant anarchists and various interventionist forces sent by the Western allies. Dictatorial powers were ultimately assumed by one of the Directors, Symon Petliura, who allied the UNR with Pilsudski's Poland against the Bolsheviks in 1920, before conceding defeat in 1921 and going into exile in Paris.

By the spring of 1921 the Bolsheviks were in control of central Ukraine; the Poles controlled eastern Galicia and Volhynia, which they had obtained from Russia; the Rumanians held northern Bukovyna, which they had obtained by the treaty of St. Germain in 1919; and Czeckoslovakia had obtained Subcarpathia.

C. The 1920s

War and revolution did not make life any easier for the Ukrainian peasant in Galicia and Bukovyna. In Galicia alone, 233,000 farmsteads and 122,000 houses had been destroyed between 1914 and 1919.[95] In 1920 famine stalked the mountain districts. Nor did the new decade bring any appreciable change for the better.

Bukovyna: In Bukovyna the Ukrainian population found itself at the mercy of a reactionary, ultra-nationalist regime. Between 1918 and 1928 northern Bukovyna was placed under a state of siege. Provincial self-government and the provincial diet were abolished and Ukrainians were classified as Rumanians who "had forgotten their native language." The Ukrainian language was banned in the courts and in all public offices; Ukrainian chairs at the University of Chernivtsi were abolished; Ukrainian societies, including Besida were dissolved; and by 1927 all schools had been Rumanianized. Rumanian also became the language of the liturgy and of sermons in the churches.

Economically the Ukrainian peasantry remained as oppressed as it had been prior to 1914. Only 12 per cent of the 627,000 hectares of land which belonged to the great landlords were parcelled out during the 1920s. Most of this land went to Rumanian colonists. The great landlords retained 53 per cent of all the land in Bukovyna while about 70 per cent of the peasant holdings were 2 hectares or less in size. About 32,000 peasants were classified as landless agrarian labourers. Famine ravaged the mountain districts. In 1939, 316,000 inhabitants of Bukovyna over the age of seven, or 50 per cent of the population, were illiterate.[96]

Eastern Galicia and Volhynia: In Poland, where there were 5,100,000 Ukrainians in 1931, conditions were only marginally better. Until 1926 power was in the hands of the Polish National Democratic Party which was committed to absolute Polish supremacy. Eastern Galicia was referred to as Wschodna Malopolska (Eastern Little Poland), Ukrainians were referred to as rusini (Ruthenians), and Ukrainian inscriptions were removed from buildings. Local self-government at the district level was abolished and replaced by appointed Polish officials (starosty). The University of Lviv became a Polish institution when the eight Ukrainian chairs were abolished. All but insuperable barriers were erected to prevent Ukrainian entry into most faculties

Although landed estates over 180 hectares in size were parcelled out, the estates of the great magnates were exempted. Some 300,000 hectares of the best land in eastern Galicia was allotted to 10,000 families of Polish colonists. Many of the colonists were former soldiers and officials. The Polish administration hoped to create a privileged

Polish peasantry devoted to the regime and ready to help control Ukrainian areas and weaken their ethnic homogeneity.[97] By 1931 over 81 per cent of the peasant holdings in eastern Galicia and 67.4 per cent of those in Volhynia were under five hectares in size. There were 331,500 agrarian labourers in the two provinces. About 34 per cent of the population in eastern Galicia and 52 per cent in Volhynia was illiterate. Between 1925 and 1938, 373,000 Ukrainians emigrated from Poland.[98]

Soviet Ukraine: During the 1920s, Soviet Ukraine impressed many persons as an attractive alternative to Poland and Rumania. As long as the New Economic Policy (1921-28) prevailed, the peasant was left in relative peace. More importantly, the Soviet regime's desire to win popular support in Ukraine -- to become rooted -- led to the adoption of a policy of "Ukrainianization" in 1923. "Moscow realized that the Ukrainian countryside could not be pacified without meeting its minimum demand, a government that would act Ukrainian and foster Ukrainian culture."[99] Between 1923 and 1929 the proportion of institutions of higher education using Ukrainian as the language of instruction rose from 19 to 69 per cent; the number of Ukrainian-language newspapers increased from one to 373 between 1922 and 1933; illiteracy fell from 47 per cent in 1926 to 4 per cent in 1933, and the proportion of Ukrainians in the Communist Party of Ukraine rose from 33.3 per cent in 1924 to 60 per cent in 1933.[100] Led by Mykhailo Hrushevsky, "many of the intellectual and political leaders of the Ukrainian People's Republic returned, eager to take part in the opportunities offered them to develop the nation's culture... A national cultural rebirth of unprecedented depth and breadth took place."[101] Ukrainian literature and scholarship experienced a golden age during the 1920s and "even Ukrainians outside the USSR came to regard [Mykola] Skrypnyk [the commissar of education] as a national leader."[102] Only after 1930 would it become apparent that Ukrainianization had been adopted for reasons of expediency by Moscow and that the policy would not be allowed to follow its natural course.

D. Political Extremism

Conditions in Galicia and Bukovyna bred extremism. Although the traditional parties retained the loyalty of most Ukrainians, the 1920s witnessed the emergence of Communist and Nationalist movements in eastern Galicia.

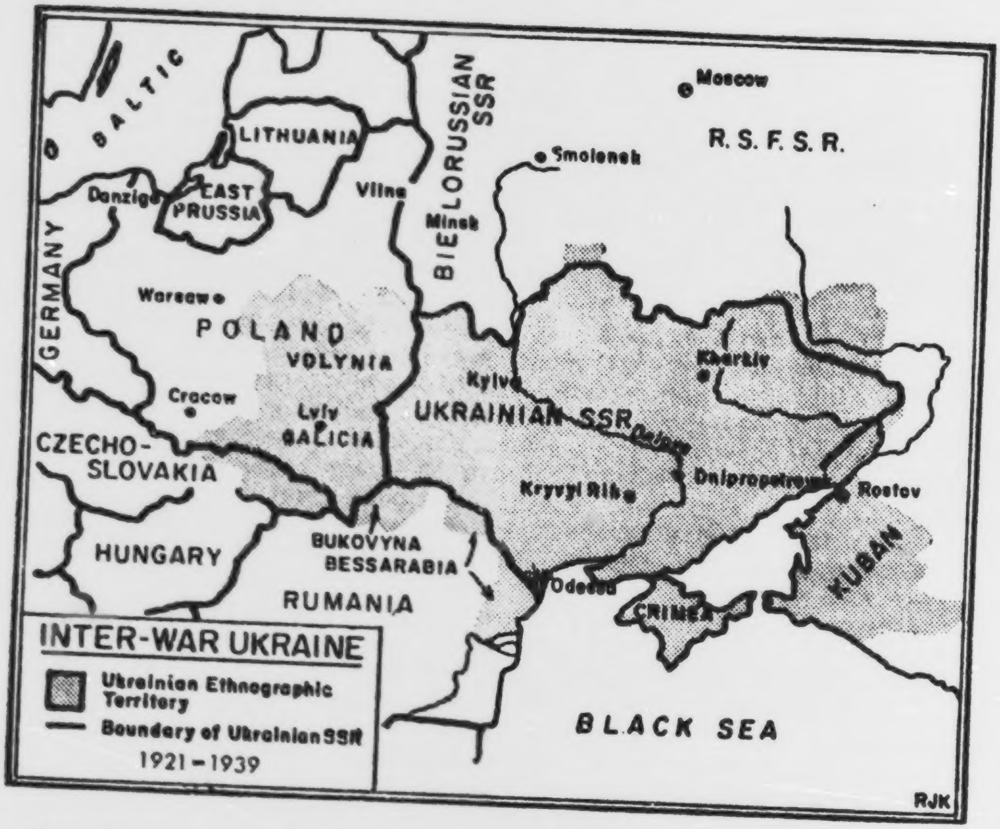
Communism: The Communist Party of Eastern Galicia was founded in November 1919. Its founders included a group of young men who had led an armed uprising against the ZUNR in Drohobych the previous April. During the summer of 1920 when the Red Army occupied the eastern third of eastern Galicia, members participated in the short lived Galician Socialist Soviet Republic. In 1923 after the Communist Party of Eastern Galicia had been disbanded, the Communist Party of Western Ukraine (Komunistychna Partiia Zakhidnoi Ukrainy--KPZU) replaced it. The KPZU was an autonomous section of the Communist Party of Poland (KPP). Like the latter, it led an illegal clandestine existence. Only in 1926 did a legal Communist mass organization--the Ukrainian Peasant Worker Association (Selrob)--come into existence.[103]

The KPZU and Selrob drew most of their support from agrarian labourers and poor peasants.[104] In October 1922 a group of twelve Galician war veterans, led by Pavlo Sheremeta and Stepan Melnychuk both of whom had spent several years in Soviet Ukraine, carried out a number of partisan raids on the estates of Polish landowners in the districts of Zalishchyky and Borshchiv before being arrested and executed by the Polish authorities.[105] In 1922 and 1923 the Communists managed to inspire a number of strikes on the railroads and in Lviv. The following year they organized a general strike of petroleum workers in the Boryslav-Drohobych region. Finally, in 1929 agrarian strikes were organized along the Dniester River and in the environs of Stanyslaviv and Rava Ruska.[106]

In 1925 the KPZU had over 1,700 members, including Ukrainians, Poles and Jews. During the elections to the Polish sejm in 1928, the KPZU won only 0.8 per cent of the vote in eastern Galicia and Volhynia. Selrob obtained 19.3 per cent.[107] By 1928 communism was beginning to lose its appeal among Ukrainians in eastern Galicia and Volhynia. Because of its open endorsement of Ukrainianization, the central committee of the KPZU had been dissolved and its members expelled from the party under pressure from the Comintern, the KPP and elements within the Communist Party of Ukraine who opposed Ukrainianization. After the expulsion of these "national deviationists" the influence of the KPZU began to wane, although the party survived until 1938 when it was liquidated together with the KPP on orders from Stalin.

Nationalism: The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was formed in January 1929. During the 1920s the integral nationalist current in Ukrainian politics was represented by a number of student groups and by the terrorist underground Ukrainian Military Organization (Ukrainska Viiskova Orhanizatsiia--UVO). The UVO was founded in 1920 by demobilized army officers, the most prominent being Col. Evhen Konovalets. The formation of the UVO and the OUN represented a reaction against the failure to establish an independent Ukrainian state in 1917-20. The Nationalists held the socialist parties responsible for this failure and rejected democracy which they believed to be inappropriate during the struggle for national liberation. They believed that struggle was the basic law of life and they were committed to conspiracy and direct action. Revolutionary violence aimed at the foreign occupants was, they insisted, the only path to national independence. The Nationalists also argued that Ukrainian national interests had to take precedence over social questions, and that Ukrainians had to rely on their own forces in the struggle for independence. This did not prevent UVO emigre leaders from seeking out foreign allies. By 1921 UVO leaders in Berlin had established contacts with Alfred Rosenberg, Hermann Goerring and Ernst Roehm, all leaders of German para-military organizations who were destined to become prominent Nazi leaders.[108]

During the 1920s UVO activity followed four lines of action. Ukrainians were urged to boycott Polish census takers and elections to the sejm, and to refuse induction into the army if they were drafted. Commencing in the autumn of 1921 attempts were made (some of them successful) to assassinate top-ranking Polish administrators, statesmen, gendarmes, and police agents. Ukrainian "collaborators" (khruni) who encouraged cooperation with the Polish occupants were also gunned down. In the spring and summer of 1922 acts of sabotage and arson were committed. Telegraph lines and railroads were dynamited and some 2,300 estates and farmsteads belonging to Polish landlords and colonists fell victim to arsonists. Finally, between 1924 and 1926 a series of "expropriations" were carried out by a "flying brigade" of UVO cadres who held up mail trucks and post offices. "That such a group was at all considered necessary testifies to the virtual extinction of the UVO at the middle and lower organizational levels and is an indication of the UVO's weakness and not of its strength."[109] During the 1930s however, the OUN was a force in Galicia and Volhynia attracting many gymnasium and university students as well as the poor peasantry.


BALTIC
LITHUANIA
BIELORUSSIAN SSR
Moscow
Smolensk
R. S. F. S. R.
Danzig
EAST PRUSSIA
Vilna
Minsk
GERMANY
Warsaw
POLAND
VOLYNIA
Kharkiv
Kyiv
Cracow
Lviv
GALICIA
UKRAINIAN SSR
Dnieper
CZECHO-SLOVAKIA
Dnipropetrovsk
Kryvyi Rih
Rostov
HUNGARY
BUKOVYNA
BESSARABIA
RUMANIA
Odessa
CRIMEA
KUBAN
INTER-WAR UKRAINE
Ukrainian Ethnographic Territory
Boundary of Ukrainian SSR
1921 – 1939
BLACK SEA
RJK

Map 3. Inter-war Ukraine.

Taken from Dmytro Doroshenko, A Survey of Ukrainian History. Edited, updated and with an introduction by Oleh W. Gerus. Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1975. Page 823.

ENDNOTES

Chapter One: Ukrainians in Galicia and Bukovyna, 1890-1930*

* This chapter draws heavily on the first chapter of my Master's thesis, "Village Radicals and Peasant Immigrants: The Social Roots of Factionalism Among Ukrainian Immigrants in Canada, 1896-1918" (University of Manitoba, 1978). My debt to John-Paul Himka's article "The Background to Emigration: Ukrainians of Galicia and Bukovyna, 1848-1914" in M.R. Lupul, ed., *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), should also be apparent. Dr. Himka was kind enough to provide me with additional source material while I was preparing this chapter.

1. Volhynia, Podillia, Kiev, Chernihiv, Poltava, Kharkiv, Katerynoslav, Kherson, Tavria.

2. Between 1896 and 1914 alone, over 1,600,000 Ukrainians left European Russia settling in the Caucasus, southern Siberia and the Far East. Most emigrants were from Poltava.

3. A group of Ukrainians from Subcarpathia settled in the Lethbridge area of Alberta. Alexander Royick, "Ukrainian Settlements in Alberta", *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, X (1968), 278-97.

4. *Rutheni* was the traditional name used in documents of the Roman Catholic Church which referred to Ukrainians and Belorussians. Although by the 1860s many educated Galician Ukrainians recognized that they constituted part of the Ukrainian nation that lived across the border in the Russian Empire, the name *ukrainets*/*ukraintsi* (Ukrainian/Ukrainians) did not begin to displace *rusyn*/*rusyny* in common parlance and in print until about 1900. In the villages most peasants began to think of themselves as *ukraintsi* rather than as *rusyny* only after 1914-18.

5. Johann Chmelar, "The Austrian Emigration, 1900-1914" in *Perspectives in American History*, VII (1973), 318, 329.

6. Myron Korduba, *Terytoriia i Naselennia Ukrainy* (Vienna, 1918).

7. The Uniate Church initially came into being in 1596 when a number of Greek Orthodox bishops in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth recognized the authority of the Roman Pontiff. The last remnants of Greek Orthodoxy in Galicia were not obliterated until 1786,

however. For a survey of events leading up to the Union of 1596, proclaimed at the Council of Berestie (Brest-Litovsk), and its subsequent enforcement in Galicia, see Michael Hrushevsky, A History of Ukraine (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), 205-16, 422-27.

8. The government focussed its attention on the Uniate clergy in eastern Galicia because most Ukrainians were concentrated in that province. The predominance of Rumanians among the Greek Orthodox clergy in Bukovyna prevented Austrian officials from recognizing that the peasants in northern Bukovyna, like those in eastern Galicia, were Ukrainian. Moreover, the Roman Catholic Habsburgs were more favourably disposed to the Uniate clergy than they were to the Orthodox clergy.

9. Uniate priests could no longer be forced to perform servile labour by their aristocratic overlords; the landholdings of Uniate parishes were regulated; and the clergy received the right to collect a variety of dues from their peasant parishioners. A religious fund was created to provide a guaranteed minimum salary for the parish clergy and to finance the work of consistories established to assist the Uniate bishops of Lviv and Peremyshl. Simultaneously the government established theological seminaries in Rome, Vienna and Lviv and guaranteed the education of the Uniate clergy at the state's expense. As a crowning touch the bishop of Lviv was elevated to the rank of metropolitan in 1808. These reforms, which were motivated as much by Enlightenment precepts as they were by a desire to win the loyalty of the Ukrainian population, did much to further Ukrainian national development during the nineteenth century. The rejuvenated Greek Catholic Church acted as a formidable barrier against Polonization; the clergy began to see itself as a legitimate contender for political power and leadership in eastern Galicia; and, clerical families nurtured a Ukrainian secular intelligentsia that had assumed leadership of the Ukrainian national movement by the 1880s. See John-Paul Himka, "The Church and Nation-Building: Greek Catholicism and Ukrainian Society in Galicia, 1772-1918" (Unpublished paper, University of Alberta, 1981), and, Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "The Ukrainians in Galicia under Austrian Rule" Austrian History Yearbook III (part 3) (1967), 394-429.

10. Himka, "The Background to Emigration", 20.

11. W. Darcovich and P. Yuzyk, eds., Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976 (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1980), 513-14.

12. Vladimir J. Kaye (Kysilevsky)and Frances Swyripa, "Settlement and Colonization" in M.R. Lupul, ed., A Heritage in Transition, 33.

13. Ibid., 34.

14. See Royick, "Ukrainian Settlements in Alberta" and Isidore Goresky, "Early Settlements in Alberta" in Ukrainian Pioneers in Alberta (Edmonton: Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta, 1975). I have also examined the biographies in the three volumes published by the Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta in 1970, 1975 and 1981. Only 40 of about 370 immigrants whose biographies appear in these volumes did not come from one of these regions. The data in V.J. Kaye's unpublished manuscript "Ukrainian Settlers in Alberta" also support this conclusion.

15. This region included all or part of the Galician districts (povity) of Kosiv, Sniatyn, Kolomyia, Pechenizhyn, Horodenka, Tovmach, Zalishchyky, Borshchiv, Chortkiv and Husiatyn, and the Bukovynian districts of Zastavna, Kitsman, Chernivtsi, Vashkivtsi, and Vyzhnytsia.

16. This region included the districts of Sokal, Kamianka Strumylova and Brody.

17. This region included the districts of Yaroslav, Peremyshl and Mostyska.

18. H.I. Kovalchak, "Deiaki pytannia rozvytku kapitalistychnykh vidnosyn u promyslovosti skhidnoi Halychyny v kintsi XIX i na pochatku XX stolittia" Ukrainskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal (1959); P. Ia. Syroid, "Inozemnyi kapital v ekonomitsi skhidnoi Halychyny" Ukrainskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal (1962).

19. V. Makaev, Robitnychyi klas Halychyny v ostanni tretyni XIX stolittia (Lviv: Lvivskyi universytet, 1968), 36.

20. Ukrainians made up 16.2 per cent of the population of Lviv and 17.9 per cent of the population of Chernivtsi.

21. Raphael Mahler, "The Economic Background of Jewish Emigration from Galicia to the United States" YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science VII (1952), 257.

22. V.A. Diadychenko, et al, Istoriia selianstva Ukrainskoi RSR. 2 vols. (Kiev: AN URSR, 1967), I, 439; William A. Jenks, The Austrian Electoral Reform of 1907. Reprint edition. (New York: Octagon Books, 1974), 216; Robert A. Kann, The Multinational Empire: Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1848-1918. vol. II. Empire Reform (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), 223.

23. In 1900 only 64.3 per cent of Greek Catholic (Ukrainian) children were enrolled in school as compared to 82.9 per cent of Jewish children and 86.9 per cent of Roman Catholic (Polish) children. In 1900 61.8 per cent of Ukrainian males between the age of 21 and 31 were illiterate; 81.1 per cent of the females of the same age were illiterate. T. Bilenky, "Nehramotnist a narodna shkola", Pershyi ukrainskyi prosvitno-ekonomichnyi kongres (Lviv, 1910).

24. Michael Yaremko, Galicia-Halychyna: From Separation to Unity. (Toronto: Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1967), 142. Also see Ann Sirka, The Nationality Question in Austrian Education: The Case of the Ukrainians in Galicia, 1867-1917. (Frankfurt a. M.: European University Studies, 1980).

25. Denys Kvitkovsky, et al, Bukovyna: Ii mynule i suchasne (Paris: Zelena Bukovyna, 1956), 662-71; 686-89; 693-701.

26. A.M. Shlepakov, Ukrainska trudova emihratsiia v SShA i Kanadi (Kiev: AN URSR, 1960), 15.

27. Kvitkovsky, Bukovyna, 449; and P.V. Sviezhynsky, Ahrarni vidnosyny na zakhidnii Ukraini v kintsi XIX na pochatku XX st. (Lviv: Lvivskyi universytet, 1966), 17.

28. Twenty one landowners held over 10,000 hectares each in Galicia. The greatest amount of land belonged to Baron Johann Liebig who held 66,746 hectares in 1900. For a table listing these grandees and the amount of land they held see W. Najdus, Szkice z historii Galicji, 2 vols. (Warsaw: Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1958-60), I, 100.

29. I.I. Kompaniets, Stanovyshche i borotba trudiashchykh mas Halychyny, Bukovyny, ta Zakarpattia na pochatku XX stolittia 1900-1919 (Kiev: AN URSR, 1960), 34.

30. Ibid., 34; V.A. Diadychenko, et al, Istoriia selianstva Ukrainskoi RSR. 2 vols. (Kiev: AN URSR, 1967), I, 513.

31. Viacheslav Budzynovsky, "Agrarni vidnosyny Halychyny" Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka, IV (1894), 105.

32. Kompaniets, Stanovyshche, 35.

33. Ibid., 35.

34. Budzynovsky, "Agrarni vidnosyny", 59-63.

35. Ibid., 60. One gluden could support an agricultural worker for two days. Himka, "The Background", 13.

36. Kompaniets, Stanovyshche, 64.

37. Osyp Navrotsky, "Pianstvo i propinatsia v Halychyni" Hromada, V (1882).

38. Chmelar, "Austrian Emigration", 323.

39. "...in the decade 1896 to 1905, the population of Galicia produced 48 kilograms of wheat per capita, Russia (before the famine years) 130 kilograms per capita, France 240, and England 190." Chmelar, 324.

40. Kompaniets, 41.

41. Himka, "The Background", 17.

42. Volodymyr Okhrymovych, "Pro smertelnist v Halychyni i ii prychyny" *Narod*, 22 October 1892; Teofil Hvozdetsky, "Smertnist ditei v nashim kraiu" *Pershyi ukrainskyi prosvitno-ekonomichnyi kongres* (Lviv, 1910).

43. M.M. Kravets, "Selianskyi rukh u skhidnii Halychyni v 50-80 kh rokakh XIX stolittia" *Z istorii URSR*, VI-VII (Kiev: AN URSR, 1962), 57-81.

44. Chmelar, 319, 329.

45. Himka, "The Background", 18.

46. Kompaniets, 34.

47. V.M. Botushansky, "Pidnesennia straikovoi borotby selian pivnichnoi Bukovyny na pochatku XX st. (1900-1907 rr.)" *Mynule i suchasne pivnichnoi Bukovyny* I (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1972), 18-29.

48. My thanks to Dr. John-Paul Himka for providing me with a published list of all Galician and Bukovynian villages and their landlords, c. 1900.

49. P.T. Tronko et al., gen. eds., *Istoriia mist i sil Ukrainskoi SSR*, 26 vols. (Kiev: Holovna redaktsiia Ukrainskoi Radianskoi Entsyklopedii, 1969), *Chernivetska oblast*, V.M. Kurylo et al., eds., 366.

50. Budzynovsky, 45.

51. Najdus, I, 260.

52. In 1903 he tried to have his estate administrator's son appointed as the parish priest in one of the Greek Catholic churches on his land. The peasants opposed this. Two years later, in June 1905, his estate in Zalluchchia was burned down by the peasants. Najdus, I, 130. For biographical data see *Polski Slownik Biograficzny*, vol. 15 (Wroclaw: Zak. Nar. im. Ossolinskikh, 1970), 567.

53. Najdus, I, 260.

54. *Wielka Encyklopedia Powszechna PWN* (Warszawa: Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1966), vol. 4, p. 311-12.

55. *Polski Slownik Biograficzny*, vol. 16, p. 442-43. The Count held 20,077 hectares in Galicia. Najdus, I, 100.

56. Norman Davies, God's Playground: A History of Poland, vol. II, 1795 to the Present (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 149-56.

57. Benjamin Murdzek, Emigration in Polish Social-Political Thought, 1870-1914. (Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs, 1977), 109.

58. Budzynovsky, 31.

59. There seem to have been quite a few Jewish landlords in the region: Chaim Hornstein (Grymalivka), Selig Borak (Mykolaiv, Volytsia Barylova, Zelena), Dawid Rappaport (Synkiv).

60. Polski Slownik Biograficzny, vol. 1, pp. 205-07, 209-11.

61. For Czartoryski's association with the National Democrats see Najdus, I, 81. For Pawlikowski, who was chairman of the SN-D between 1905 and 1919, see Wielka Encyklopedia Powszechna vol. 8, 533.

62. The brotherhoods had been established in the second half of the sixteenth century by Ukrainian Orthodox burghers and aristocrats. Their objective was to guarantee the autonomy of the Orthodox Church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and to reform the Church peacefully from below. They sponsored schools, maintained hospitals, and published books. They were also authorized to oversee the behaviour of laymen, priests and hierarchs, in order to assure that it complied with the tenets of Christianity. The Patriarch of Constantinople authorized the brotherhoods to resist the authority of bishops who refused to heed their warnings. See Taras Hunczak, "The Politics of Religion: The Union of Brest 1596" Ukrainskyi istoryk, IX (3-4) (1972), 97-106.

63. Ivan Franko, "Ukrainski partii v Halychyni" in M.S. Vozniak, ed., Z zhyttia i tvorchosty Ivana Franka (Kiev: AN URSR, 1955), 139.

64. Ibid.

65. Sheptytsky established amicable relations with the lower clergy, personally undertook missions to remote highland regions and issued all pastoral letters in Ukrainian. He became a leading patron of Ukrainian arts and letters and a generous philanthropist. He supported efforts to establish a Ukrainian university in Lviv and acted as a mediator in discussions which led to the reform of the Galician provincial statute early in 1914. The new statute broke the monopoly of political power held by the Polish aristocracy and took control of Ukrainian elementary and secondary education out of Polish hands. Regrettably, before these provisions could be implemented war broke out. See Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "The Ukrainians in Galicia", 426-27.

66. Sheptytsky's father, a Polonized Ukrainian aristocrat had been a supporter of the Polish aristocratic party, his older brother considered himself a Pole and was married to the daughter of Prince Lew Saphieha, and the Metropolitan was at ease in Polish aristocratic circles.

67. Himka, "The Church and Nation Building".

68. Cited in Mykhailo Lozynsky, "Teokratychni zmahannia na nashim grunti" Literaturno Naukovyi Visnyk (1909), 123-25.

69. In addition to actively opposing the growth of Ukrainian cultural and economic institutions, Potocki had supported the Russophiles and instituted draconian measures against political activists. A number of peasants had been killed by gendarmes during the agitation for universal manhood suffrage and hundreds of university students had been arrested. See Yaremko, Galicia-Halychyna, 172-82. Sheptytsky described the assassination as an "abominable crime", an example of "godless politics" which had "spilled the blood of an innocent man" and "caused a widow and orphans to weep." For excerpts from Sheptytsky's sermon see Vasyl Kudryk, Malovidome z istorii hreko-katolytskoi tserkvy 4 vols. (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1952-56), II, 45.

70. Himka, "Background", 19; Rudnytsky, "The Ukrainians in Galicia", 402-05, 408-13.

71. On Bobrinsky see Robert Edelman, Gentry Politics on the Eve of the Russian Revolution: The Nationalist Party, 1907-1917. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1980).

72. A chair of Ukrainian history was established at the University of Lviv and Mykhailo Hrushevsky appointed to fill the position. The Ukrainophiles made the pact because they hoped to provide a sanctuary for Ukrainian scholarship in Galicia. Ukrainian scholarly activity was illegal in the Russian Empire after 1876.

73. The standard survey of Galician Ukrainian politics, 1848-1914 is Kost Levytsky, Istoriia politychnoi dumky halytskykh ukraintsiv, 1848-1914 (Lviv: The Author, 1926).

74. Himka, "Background", 20. Also see John-Paul Himka, Socialism in Galicia: The Emergence of Polish Socialism and Ukrainian Radicalism (1860-1890). (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1983).

75. The Radicals agitated for shorter working hours, standardized wages, social insurance for workers, basic agrarian and tax reforms, better educational facilities, freedom of the press, and universal suffrage.

76. Martynowych, "Village Radicals and Peasant Immigrants", 42-49.

77. Himka, "Background", 20. Dr. Himka is completing a monograph on "the awakening village".

78. Ibid., 21.

79. Ibid., 22. Also see John-Paul Himka, "Priests and Peasants: The Uniate Pastor and the Ukrainian National Movement in Austria, 1867-1900" Canadian Slavonic Papers XXI (1) (1979), 1-14.

80. The following figures may give some idea of the transformation that went on in the village. Between 1877 and 1914 Prosvita published 305 booklets for the peasantry in over 2,500,000 copies. By 1914 there were 2,949 Prosvita reading clubs and 197,000 reading club members. This meant that 75 per cent of all villages, towns and cities populated by Ukrainians boasted reading clubs and that 20 per cent of the adult Ukrainian male population availed itself of the facilities. In addition there were some 300 Mykhailo Kachkovsky reading clubs and the Radical clubs. In northern Bukovyna there were 190 reading clubs with 13,000 members affiliated to Ruska Besida. In Galicia Prosvita reading clubs alone sponsored some 540 cooperative stores and 257 credit cooperatives. In addition to these, there were in 1914 over 370 Ukrainian credit unions with a combined membership of over 180,000; 80 dairy cooperatives; about 100 agricultural marketing cooperatives and a network of cooperative stores organized on Rochdale principles. In Bukovyna there were over 160 Ukrainian cooperatives of various kinds. See Stepan Persky, Populiarna istoriia tovarystva 'Prosvita' u Lvovi (Lviv, 1932), and, Entsyklopedia Ukrainoznavstva (Paris: NTSh, 1949), vol. I, part 3, 118-20, 928-33.

81. Kyrylo Trylovsky, "Z moho zhyttia . . . " in Petro Trylovsky, ed., Hei tam na hori Sich ide! (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1965), 13-77.

82. Kompaniets, Stanovyshche, 181.

83. Kvitkovsky, et al, Bukovyna, 880, 895.

84. Bohdan Stefanovych, "Chytalnianyi rukh na pochatku XX stol.", in Olha Sonevytska, et al, eds., Istorychno-memuarnyi zbirnyk Chortkivskoi okruhy (New York: NTSh, 1974), 52-53.

85. M. Pavlyk, "Pro rusko-ukrainski narodni chytalni" Tvory (Kiev: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo khudozhnoi literatury, 1959), 416-549.

86. Persky, Populiarna istoriia, 160.

87. M.M. Kravets, "Masovi selianski vystupy u skhidnii Halychyni v 90kh rokakh XIX st.", Z istorii Ukrainskoi RSR, VIII (1963), 3-27.

88. Najdus, I, 260 ff.

89. Ibid.

90. Najdus, II, 630.

91. A brief summary of events during the period 1914-21 may be found in the first volume of V. Kubijovic, gen. ed., Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963-68), 689, 714-18, 725-814, 833-38.

92. In Austria Ukrainians could publish books and newspapers, form associations and hold public meetings. At election time they could try to mobilize the peasant masses. Ukrainian deputies could at least voice the grievances of their constituents. By 1914 there were 8 Ukrainian chairs at the University of Lviv. In Russia it was formally forbidden to publish in Ukrainian between 1876 and 1905. After 1905 the possibilities for Ukrainian cultural and political development were severely circumscribed and the government supported chauvinist Russian organizations which engaged in anti-Ukrainian propaganda. See Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "The Ukrainian National Movement on the Eve of the First World War" East European Quarterly, XI (2) (1977), 141-54.

93. Paul R. Magocsi, "Old Ruthenians and Russophiles in Galicia." Unpublished paper, 1982.

94. See Steven L. Guthier, "The Popular Base of Ukrainian Nationalism in 1917" Slavic Review, XXXVIII (1) (1979), 30-44; John S. Reshetar, The Ukrainian Revolution: A Study in Nationalism (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952); Taras Hunczak, ed., The Ukraine, 1917-21: A Study in Revolution (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977).

95. Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia, I, 836-37.

96. Diadychenko et al, Istoriia selianstva, II, 229-37.

97. Janusz Radziejowski, The Communist Party of Western Ukraine, 1919-1929 (Edmonton: CIUS, 1983), 6.

98. Diadychenko, 235.

99. James E. Mace, Communism and the Dilemmas of National Liberation: National Communism in Soviet Ukraine, 1918-1933 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1983), 303.

100. Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia, I, 811.

101. Mace, Communism, 304.

102. Ibid.

103. See Radziejowski, and, Roman Solchanyk, "The Communist Party of Western Ukraine, 1919-1938" (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1973).

104. Alexander Motyl, "The Rural Origins of the Communist and Nationalist Movements in Wolyn Wojewodztwo, 1921-1939" *Slavic Review*, XXXVII (3) (1978), 412-20.

105. Their raid became the subject of Myroslav Irchan's drama *Dvanadtsiat* (The Twelve), which was very popular in ULFTA circles in Canada during the 1920s and 1930s.

106. *Ukrainska Radianska Entsyklopedia* V, 2nd edition, (Kiev: Hol. red. URE, 1980), 329-30.

107. Radziejowski, 174-75.

108. Alexander Motyl, *The Turn to the Right: The Ideological Origins and Development of Ukrainian Nationalism, 1919-1929*. (Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs, 1980), 123.

109. *Ibid.*, 212.

Chapter Two: Ukrainian Immigration to the Canadian Prairies

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1. Introduction

In 1881 Canada had a population of 4,325,000 of which about 59 per cent was of British origin and 30 per cent of French origin. Fifty years later those of British origin still constituted 52 per cent, those of French origin constituted 28 per cent, and those of European origin constituted 17.5 per cent of the 10,377,000 inhabitants of Canada. Roman Catholics, who comprised the largest religious denomination, made up 41 per cent of the population, while the four major Protestant denominations (Presbyterians, United Church, Anglicans and Baptists) made up 48 per cent of the population in 1931. In the three Prairie provinces the ethnic and religious composition of the population deviated from the national norm. Although 51 per cent of the population was of British origin, those of French origin made up just under 6 per cent of the population, while those of European origin made up 41 per cent of the population. Although the four major Protestant denominations constituted 52 per cent of the population, only 25 per cent of the population was Roman Catholic or Greek Catholic, while almost 10 per cent was Lutheran and 3 per cent was Greek Orthodox.[1]

The ethnic and religious composition of the Prairie population reflected the region's history and position within the Dominion. The Prairies had been incorporated into the Dominion in order to meet the needs of eastern Canadian interests. The Montreal-based Canadian commercial-capitalist elite, which had traditionally inter-mediated the flow of goods between Britain and the North American hinterland decided to annex the Prairies because it needed a new hinterland to offset its loss of access to the American Mid-West.[2] Annexation of the Prairies seemed to promise a potential hinterland which was even more lucrative than the American Mid-West. Incorporation of the region also appealed to land hungry Ontario farmers, to the small group of Canadian industrialists who anticipated a potential market for their manufactures, and to British financiers who had invested in eastern and central Canadian transportation systems. Once the purchase of the region from the Hudson's Bay Company had been completed and the lands wrested by force and deception from the indigenous Indian and Metis population,[3] the creation of a "northern nation" stretching from "ocean to ocean" was undertaken in earnest by the Canadian commercial elite.

The policy devised to integrate the Prairies into the Canadian state and economy came to be known as the National Policy. A protective tariff system, the construction of a transcontinental railroad, and immigration policies to promote agricultural settlement and to secure a reservoir of cheap labour, were the three pillars on which the National Policy rested. The tariff was not designed to prevent foreign capital from entering Canada. Rather, its purpose was to encourage industrialization within the established eastern and central regions of the country and to prevent the entry of American manufactured goods. Its basic objective was to promote an inter-provincial trading system by creating an east-west (rather than a north-south) trade nexus which would force traffic onto the railroad and thereby serve the interests of the commercial elite. The transcontinental--the Canadian Pacific Railway--was constructed to drain the western hinterland of its staples, to facilitate their movement to markets abroad, and to carry eastern manufactures to the western market. By 1914 there were three transcontinental railways. Agricultural settlement and immigration were, however, the key to the success of the National Policy. Without an agricultural staple-producing population on the Prairies, and without a constant supply of cheap labour, it would be impossible to produce export commodities, provide a market for eastern manufacturers, or to expand the transport and communications infra-structure required for such an enterprise. While agricultural settlers of British origin were most eagerly sought after, immigrants from continental Europe--including peasants from southern and eastern Europe--were also recruited. Although members of the last group--especially Ukrainians from Galicia and

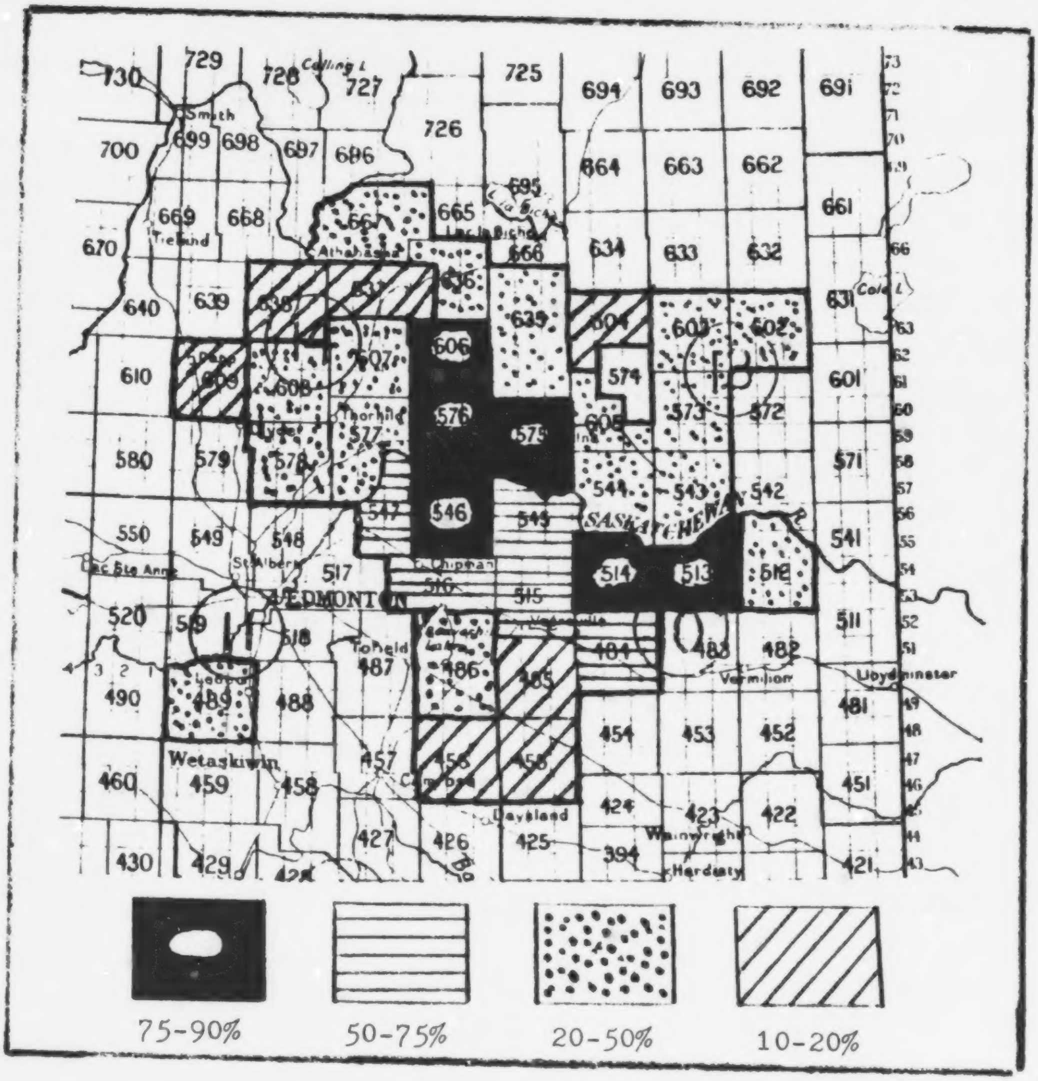
Bukovyna--were actively recruited as agricultural settlers prior to 1905, it was primarily as a result of the demand for cheap labour that these immigrants were recruited in large numbers between 1905 and 1914. When federal restrictions were placed on Oriental immigration in 1907, railroad and mining interests became the most active supporters of southern and east European immigration to Canada.[4] Southern and eastern Europeans were actively recruited until 1914 and then again between 1924 and 1930. Only war, a nativist backlash and the Depression would bring the flow of immigrants to an end.

By 1931 there were 225,113 persons of Ukrainian origin living in Canada. They constituted 2.1 per cent of the Canadian population. The overwhelming majority--about 85 per cent--were concentrated in the three Prairie provinces. They were settled on lands which stretched in a northwesterly direction from Stuartburn in southeastern Manitoba to Edmonton in east central Alberta. The land settled by Ukrainians coincided with the aspen parkland vegetation belt and with the route of the Canadian National Railway. In 1931 Ukrainians made up just over 8.2 per cent of the Prairie population. They were distributed in the following manner: 73,606 were residents of Manitoba; 63,400 resided in Saskatchewan; and 55,872 were residing in Alberta, some 48,000 of them directly east and northeast of Edmonton.[5] About 78 per cent of Prairie Ukrainians lived in rural areas although the proportion varied from province to province: only 69 per cent of Manitoba Ukrainians were classified as rural dwellers while in Alberta the proportion was 85 per cent.

Although rural Ukrainian settlers were not concentrated in perfectly homogeneous blocs (as were the Doukhobors and the Mennonites), it was possible to identify at least ten settlement blocs on the Prairies in which they predominated.[6] The oldest and largest of these was the Ukrainian bloc settlement in east central Alberta. It had grown out of the first Ukrainian settlement in Canada, the one at Edna-Star. Territorially it corresponded to the area of land between the two CNR lines constructed in 1905 and 1917. In each of 10 coextensive municipalities in the region[7] over 50 per cent of the population was of

Ukrainian origin, while in five of these municipalities over 75 per cent of the population was of Ukrainian origin. In these 10 municipalities and the towns and villages within their boundaries, there were 27,604 Ukrainians who constituted about 70 per cent of the total population. Here, not only the French (541) but the British (5488) also were a definite minority, although the latter were the dominant element in most towns and villages. Other groups within these ten municipalities included the Poles (3081), Germans (1901), Rumanians (1509), Scandinavians (1174), and the Russians (816).

This chapter examines the Canadian Prairies and the Ukrainian peasant immigrants who settled in the region at the turn of the century. It analyzes the socio-economic structure of Prairie society and examines the response of English-speaking Protestant and French-speaking Roman Catholic missionaries to continental European immigrants. Then it surveys the pattern of Ukrainian immigration to Canada, considers Ukrainian peasant strategies of land selection, and briefly describes the settlement of east central Alberta. It concludes with a few tentative observations about the nature of Ukrainian peasant immigrant society and culture shortly after the turn of the century.


75-90%
50-75%
20-50%
10-20%
EDMONTON
SASKATCHEWAN
Wetaskiwin
Vermilion
Lloydminster
Wainwright
Hardisty
Daysland
Camrose
Athabasca
Lac la Biche
Cold L
Thorhild
St Albert
Chipman
Vegreville
Tofield
Smith
Trefand
Calling L
Lac Ste Anne

Map 4. Percentage of Ukrainians in the Municipal Districts of East Central Alberta, 1931.

2. The Prairies at the Turn of the Century

Between 1870 and 1920 the Canadian Prairies were transformed from a sparsely populated fur-trading region into one of the world's major grain exporting agricultural regions. This transformation had benefited eastern Canadian commercial capitalists and industrialists more than it had benefited the Native population or the homesteaders recruited to farm the Prairies. From the outset Prairie society was a colony within a colony, a hinterland subordinated to the interests of a colonial elite which was itself subservient to a metropolitan elite in Britain. It was a society in which relations between racial and ethnic groups were hierarchically structured and where an ideology which asserted the superiority of the dominant group rationalized the status quo. It was also a society characterized by a struggle between English-speaking Protestant and French-speaking Roman Catholic missionaries for the allegiance of the incoming immigrants.

A. Colonial Status

Within the Canadian economy, the Prairies served as exporters of raw materials and their one staple product, wheat. The National Policy provided "little or no scope for industrial expansion in the West."[8] In 1911 71.2 per cent of the Prairie population was rural and 55.8 per cent of the male population was engaged in agriculture.[9] Primary industry was limited almost exclusively to mining which employed 1.3 per cent of the male labour force in 1911.[10] It consisted of small gypsum and limestone quarries in Manitoba, small-scale coal-mining in Saskatchewan, and the considerably more significant coal mines of southern and western Alberta, which accounted for about 17 per cent of the mineral wealth produced in Canada in 1921.[11] These were often owned by the same eastern interests who controlled the railroads. Prior to 1919 most of the mines were too small to benefit from major technological advances and were rarely mechanized. The death rate in Alberta mines between 1907 and 1916 was more than twice as high as that in Nova Scotia and the United States.[12]

Secondary industry was confined to the cities. Winnipeg, the CPR's main western headquarters and construction supply centre, housed the Company's depot, shops and foundries as well as sawmills, grainmills and a clothing industry. In the smaller cities food processing was an important industry. The manufacture of simple iron and steel products, farm wagons, furniture, housing fixtures and leather goods was also carried on in Winnipeg, Regina, Calgary and Edmonton. Yet, in 1911 only 20 per cent of the population in the four largest cities was engaged in the construction industry and 15 per cent in manufacturing.[13] Overall, only 6 per cent of the male labour force was engaged in construction and 4.5 per cent in the manufacturing and mechanical industries.[14]

The National Policy and the absence of industry in the region placed the farmer and labourer at the mercy of the eastern interests. Of the 130 million acres of good farmland in the three Prairie provinces, 31.8 million acres had been granted to the railroad companies, seven million acres had been granted to the Hudson's Bay Company, and the federal government had alienated over 20 million acres. In fact, the amount of land set aside in this fashion (61.25 million acres) surpassed the amount of free homestead land (58.25 million acres) alienated between 1870 and 1928.[15] The CPR enjoyed a de jure monopoly of through traffic on the Prairies until 1888 and a de facto monopoly until the CNoR completed a line from Winnipeg to the Lakehead in 1902. Moreover, farmers were not only compelled to buy rail services at the seller's price when they shipped their grain to market, the protective tariff compelled them, as it compelled all residents of the West, to by the necessities of life and the supplies and equipment for their farms at inflated prices. Farmers and labourers condemned a "tariff ranging from twenty per cent up to fifty or a hundred per cent" on nearly everything they had to consume.[16] Workers also resented an immigration policy that sought to provide employers with a large supply of labour and threatened to impair trade union effectiveness by injecting foreigners into the labour force.

Although farmers and skilled labourers of British extraction who had settled on the Prairies were victims of economic exploitation, in most other respects they remained members of a privileged group. Not only were British institutions imposed upon the Prairies, but the farmer and labourer of British origin was also able to retain his own sense of social and cultural superiority. This was not the experience of many minority and immigrant groups.

The advent of colonists from southern Ontario had disrupted the traditional way of life of the indigenous Indian and Metis population. The Indians were left with no alternative but to sign treaties and settle on the reservations, while the Metis virtually disappeared as a distinct national and political entity. Although the RNWMP protected the Indians from whiskey runners and overly aggressive colonists, the force acted like conquerors in a conquered land. It applied the tactic of "divide and rule" when dealing with the Indian population and dispensed punitive measures in the aftermath of the 1885 rebellion.[17]

Between 1890 and 1905 the rights granted to the French Catholic minority in the West in 1870 and 1875 were eroded at the behest of the British majority. Originally French Catholics had been guaranteed the right to separate schools and the right to use French in the debates, records, journals and ordinances of the Manitoba Legislature and the Northwest Territories Council. When French colonization failed to keep up with the influx of English speaking settlers[18] these rights were revoked. French could no longer be used in the Legislature, Council and Courts. In the Northwest Territories (which became Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1905) all schools became public schools subject to the same regulations and curriculum, although the primary grade could be taught in French and competent French teachers could be hired. "Religious instruction was permitted at the end of the day and Catholic or Protestant teachers were hired according to the wishes of the majority, leaving the minority the right to establish its own schools."[19]

Much of the coal-mining and most of the railroad construction which took place on the Prairies during this period was performed by immigrants recruited from southern and eastern Europe. Between 17.5 and 36 per cent of the miners in Alberta were Slavs and 15 to 25.5 per cent were Italian. Although they were outnumbered by miners of British extraction (40 to 61 per cent), it was the unskilled continental Europeans who performed the more difficult labour and ran the greater risks.[20] An ethnic caste system existed in the mines and on railroad construction.[21] In the mines most skilled mechanics, certified miners and supervisors were Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians. Slavs and Italians were usually employed as underground labourers, miner's helpers and surface labourers. On railroad construction Slavs and Italians worked with shovels, hoes and barrows as "muckers" and ditchdiggers. A semi-racial demarcation which attributed specific characteristics to the various national groups provided ideological justification for this caste system. Workers belonged to one of two groups: "whites" (Anglo-Saxons, Scandinavians, French-Canadians) or "foreigners" (Slavs, Italians, Orientals). The former were alleged to be more intelligent, virile, clear-headed and self-reliant; the latter were described as "slow and immobile...with but limited mechanical ability", lacking in initiative and easily brow-beaten--consequently suited to just this type of menial labour. The presence of these immigrants freed members of the dominant Anglo-Protestant group from the most menial, dangerous and degrading tasks and permitted even the most oppressed members of the dominant group to find solace in the fact that there was someone beneath them on the social ladder.

B. Protestant and Roman Catholic Missionaries

Almost since the beginning of the nineteenth century French-Canadian Roman Catholic and Anglo-Celtic Protestant missionaries had found a field for their activities in the Prairie region. The first missionary in Rupertsland, the Rev. James Sutherland, a Presbyterian, had arrived at Red River in 1815. In the ensuing years, he was followed by

Anglican and Methodist missionaries. The first Roman Catholic missionary in the region had been Father (later Bishop) Norbert Provencher, who arrived at Red River three years after Rev. Sutherland. The Roman Catholics made relatively little headway until missionaries of the Oblate Order of Mary Immaculate, who were committed to working in the Northwest, arrived in 1845.[22] Prior to the arrival of white settlers, Protestants and Roman Catholics worked among the fur-traders, half-breeds and Indians. The arrival of continental European immigrants--especially those from southern and eastern Europe--provided a new challenge for the missionaries. Since they were the first representatives of the new society to take an interest in the immigrants, a brief examination of their social values and of the concerns that animated them is in order at this point.

Protestant missionaries: Protestant missionaries, especially the Presbyterians and the Methodists, celebrated the annexation of the West and efforts to transform Prairie society into a replica of Anglo-Celtic Protestant southern Ontario. In keeping with the popular social mythology of the day, prominent Protestant divines asserted that the British were a "masterful race" singularly endowed with the capacity for "progress" peculiar to "northern races".[23] Their physical endurance, moral strength, love of liberty and high sense of purpose combined to render the British an exceptionally "manly race" distinguished at once by their forcefulness and firmness, as well as by their aggressiveness and sense of "fair play." The British were a "silent" people in whom "the spirit of adventure...is innate;" a people who wanted to "fight rather than play;" a people whose "tradition it was to snatch victory from the jaws of defeat and despair;" a people who "play no favourites but at the same time will stand no nonsense from anyone." They were in fact "born leaders of men." Consequently colonists of British stock, "stalwart northern men, ready for exploits, waiting to subdue the wilderness and make the desert a beautiful garden" were justified and destined to occupy the Prairie West. The explorers, the Selkirk Settlers, the RNWMP officers and the railway tycoons who had opened up the West all offered irrefutable proof of British superiority.

The population indigenous to the Prairies--the Indians and Metis--were portrayed, in sharp contrast to the "masterful" British, as an "adolescent race" "unequal to the full burdens and responsibilities of life." Being "more given to social gatherings than to agriculture" the Indians and Metis were described as being "careless about trade," deficient in the "peaceful arts of civilization" and doomed to "poverty and misery." Unhabituated to a life of steady application, wallowing in idleness and burried in "absolute heathenism," they were prone to become "the playthings of their passions." Unlike the manly British, renowned for their fair play, the Indians and Metis tended to be "rascals". They were "famed for fierceness and deceit," "insolent," "vindictive," "arrogant," manipulated by "wily leaders" and capable of perpetrating violence on defenceless settlers. In fact, so culturally and morally deficient were the Indians and Metis that they were destined to remain "wards" of the "manly" British for decades if not longer. There was "something lacking that makes their subserviency in the struggle for life and life's goods a foregone conclusion."

Nor were the other "races" who had trickled into the Northwest during the early nineteenth century capable of civilizing the region. The French-Canadians were exceedingly fond of "rollicking boat songs and wild jollifications" and content to settle "on a remote lake or untenanted river." Disbanded European mercenaries (the De Meuron regiment) had displayed "predatory inclinations towards their neighbours' cattle." And the Swiss, although pious and upright, had been mere "watch and clock makers, pastry cooks, and musicians."

Ultimately, Protestant missionaries justified British dominance by asserting that the British Empire was the secular vehicle of Providence--the divinely selected instrument for the global propagation of Protestant Christianity. If Canada was to fulfill her obligations as a member of the Empire she would have to bear "a larger share of the white man's burden"[24] by contributing to the moral and civil uplift of the "lesser races." Immigration from southern and eastern Europe, especially the massive influx of Slavic settlers, at once imperilled Western Canada's status as a "godly" bastion of the British Empire and challenged the

Presbyterians and Methodists to assume the burden of "uplifting" the "benighted foreigners." Unlike Protestant immigrants from northern Europe, who had many characteristics in common with the British, the Slavs were believed to be wily, feeble, dependent on others, lacking in initiative and morally lax--like the Indians and the Metis. The Prairies could not be handed over to such immigrants "of inferior races and lower civilizations."[25] The obligation to "Christianize the World" could not be realized unless the burgeoning society in the West was firmly established on Protestant foundations.[26] Consequently the immigrants would have to be assimilated: it would be necessary "to work over this mass of crude material and incorporate it into the bone and sinew of our national life."[27]

While Methodists and Presbyterians were equally committed to assimilating and Protestantizing the immigrants, their positions on immigration were not identical. Methodists seem to have fretted, as did the Rev. Wellington Bridgeman in 1907, that "...we have as many of these people here now as we can masticate, digest and properly assimilate in the next ten years."[28] The Presbyterians on the other hand, were the largest religious denomination in the West and the heirs and co-religionists (Scottish, Presbyterian) of the fur traders, explorers, colonists and railroad tycoons, who had opened up the region. They were not as eager to simply stop Slavic immigration. They realised, in the words of the Rev. C.W. Gordon, that

> "...we need them for our work. They do work for us that Canadians will not do. They do work for us that Americans will not do; and were it not for the Galicians and the Doukhobors...we could not push our enterprises in railroad building and in lumbering and manufacturing to a finish. We must have them."[29]

French-Catholic missionaries: If the Protestant missionaries believed that the British Empire was the divinely chosen instrument for the global propagation of Protestant Christianity, the French Catholic clergy was no less certain of the fact that Quebec and the French-Canadian Catholic population had been raised up by God "to embody the advance of Catholic principles in this world."[30] This conclusion had been reached in the wake of the crisis experienced by the Roman Catholic Church during the last third of the nineteenth century. In 1870 as a result of the unification of Italy and the triumph of Italian nationalism the papacy had been deprived of the last remnants of its temporal power. A few months later the pro-Catholic regime of Louis Napoleon had collapsed in France and violent anti-clerical reprisals had ensued. In 1880 after years of friction with clerical extremists, the French Republic turned upon the Church.[31] Where religious education had been required in all primary and secondary schools between 1850 and 1880, a concerted effort was now made to root out clerical influence and religious instruction in the schools.[32] Simultaneously steps were taken to expel a number of religious orders, a law suppressing the obligation to observe Sunday as a day of rest was passed, and divorce was legalized. Finally, between 1900 and 1905 in the aftermath of the Dreyfus affair in which the Church had been seriously compromised, all religious orders except those receiving special parliamentary authorization were expelled from France and all ties between church and state were broken. "Priests and bishops were taken off the state payroll; title to all church property was transferred to the state; and committees of Catholic laymen were to administer church affairs in each parish."[33]

Outside France the Roman Catholic Church was also under attack. Throughout Europe secular authorities sought to replace the Church in its traditional role as educator. Even in Canada (outside Quebec) the Church was no longer safe. In 1871 New Brunswick had put an end to public support of Catholic schools and established a compulsory public school system. In 1890 the Manitoba separate school system had been destroyed and two years later the Northwest Territories had suffered the same fate. Not surprisingly the French Catholic clergy in France and in Canada developed a siege mentality and concluded that republicans, Freemasons, Orangemen, Jews and other champions of secularism, liberalism and individualism were conspiring to bring down the Church and the "conservative principles that held society together."[34]

Now that Christian France, "the eldest daughter of the Church" had been disarmed by her enemies, the French Catholic clergy in Canada concluded that it must assume responsibility for the fate of Catholicism. Quebec, where the Roman Catholic Church was completely independent and free to do as it pleased[35] welcomed many of the monks and nuns expelled from France. Others were encouraged to take up missionary work in the West. Those who accepted the challenge included Dom Joseph Paul Augustin Benoit, a high ranking member of the Order of the Immaculate Conception of St. Claude, France, and author of numerous "exposes" of freemasonry and modernism, who became a trusted advisor of Archbishop Adelard Langevin of St. Boniface; other members of the same order, who established missions in southwestern Manitoba and in Vegreville, Alberta; and Father Emile Legal, o.m.i., an Oblate novice who fled from Nancy, France in 1880 to become by successive stages a missionary among the Black Foot Indians of Alberta, bishop of St. Albert, and the first archbishop of Edmonton.[36]

When the flow of immigration turned to the Prairies at the turn of the century, the Roman Catholic Church responded with energy and alacrity. Although the Roman Catholic clergy did not seek to convert members of non-Catholic Christian denominations to Catholicism, and although it defended the right of immigrants (especially Slavs) to use their native language in the schools, its motives were hardly disinterested. The French Catholic clergy was anxious to recruit Catholic immigrants for the struggle against liberalism, individualism and secularism, and eager to impose its own rigorous discipline on them.[37] Deviations from this discipline would not be tolerated and immigrant freethinkers and radicals who believed that committees of laymen should administer parish property and affairs would be condemned in no uncertain terms.

3. The Pattern of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

The Prairies remained relatively empty until 1896. Between 1874 and 1896 an average of only 3000 homestead entries were made yearly and very many of these were cancelled shortly thereafter. The first transcontinental--the CPR--had been completed in 1885, but fear of grasshopper infestations, global economic depression, lacklustre promotion and the fact that the railroads had yet to select the lands to which they were entitled, all combined to reduce immigration to an insignificant trickle. Although a few Ukrainian settlers arrived between 1891 and 1895, organized Ukrainian emigration from Galicia and Bukovyna to Canada began in 1896 and did not assume mass proportions prior to 1898. When they arrived Ukrainian immigrants did not settle on the open prairie lands which stretched across the southern half of the Prairie provinces. Instead they settled on lands in the "park belt" and forest areas further north. The oldest and largest Ukrainian settlement on the Prairies, the one in east central Alberta, straddled the frontier between the "park belt" and the forest region. By 1916 it covered an area of about 2500 square miles.

A. Immigration

Ukrainian immigration commenced in 1891 when Ivan Pylypow of Nebyliv, Kalush district, Galicia, learned about the "free lands" available on the Prairies from Galician German acquaintances who had emigrated some years earlier. After investigating settlement possibilities in Manitoba and Alberta with Wasyl Eleniak, a fellow villager, Pylypow returned to Galicia to bring back both men's families and as many friends and relatives as could be persuaded to accompany them. Although he was arrested and tried for sedition by the Austrian authorities, and prevented from making his way back to Canada until 1893, "the publicity generated by his trial advertised Canada more effectively than he himself could have done."[38] By 1894 a Ukrainian settlement had emerged in the vicinity of Star, Alberta.

Ukrainian immigration assumed mass proportions in 1896. It was accelerated by Dr. Joseph Oleskiv, a young agronomist of populist sympathies.[39] Oleskiv, collected data on Western Canada, visited the region, met with representatives of the Department of the Interior, lectured widely about Canada, and penned two popular pamphlets--Pro vilni zemli (About Free Lands) and O emigratsii (On Emigration)--that were published and distributed to their reading clubs by the Prosvita and Kachkovsky societies. He envisaged an orderly and controlled immigration of hand-picked and well-capitalized peasant farmers who would be assisted by the Canadian government. Their poor countrymen would follow a few years later when the former group would be in a position to help them.

Clifford Sifton, the new Liberal Minister of the Interior (1896-1905) on the other hand, was determined to bring the Prairies into production immediately by obtaining an agricultural population. Although Sifton would have preferred to people the Prairies with Britons, Americans and northern Europeans, he was a pragmatist who was indifferent to the ethnic background of the settlrs provided they were thrifty and industrious agriculturalists. Consequently agreements were concluded with European agents to recruit east European immigrants, including Ukrainians. As a result Ukrainian immigration to Canada was not the orderly and controlled process envisaged by Oleskiv (who, in any case was dead by 1903). The majority of Ukrainian immigrants who came to Canada were illiterate and without capital. Even after Sifton's successors, Frank Oliver and Robert Rogers, curtailed efforts to recruit east European agriculturalists, Ukrainian immigration continued to increase, sustained by a momentum of its own. Moreover, after 1905, the demand of industry, primarily the railroad companies and mining interests, for cheap labour stimulated the influx of single men seeking work rather than land. The majority of Ukrainian immigrants who entered Canada between 1905 and 1914 fell into this category. Of 67,274 Ukrainians admitted at Canadian ocean ports between 1910 and 1914, 48,898 or 72.9 per cent were adult males, many of them single. Another 3,896 Ukrainian women were admitted as domestics. In the Prairie provinces well over 20 per cent of Ukrainians remained in urban centres.[40] By 1914 about 170,000 Ukrainians had entered Canada and about 20-25 per cent of the Ukrainian-Canadian population was in Alberta.[41]

The outbreak of war in 1914 terminated Ukrainian immigration. In 1919, confronted with a labour surplus, the federal government bowed to nativist pressure and barred most east central Europeans from entering Canada.[42] Within five years however, a massive exodus of unemployed Canadian labourers and the inability to find suitable replacements in Britain caused the ban to be lifted. The federal government gave the CPR and CNR a free hand in recruiting and settling agriculturalists from east central Europe, and allowed any immigrant whose services were required in Canada to enter the country. Between 1924 and 1930, 370,000 continental Europeans arrived, displacing established labourers in resource industries and the manufacturing sector and again aggravating nativist fears. At least 72,000 of the newcomers, including 35,000 south, central and east Europeans came to Alberta.[43] Over 50,000 Ukrainians, primarily from Galicia and Volhynia entered the Dominion during these years; 9,400 settled in Alberta.

When the Depression set in and unemployment began to soar, stringent restrictions were again imposed on east central Europeans. Only immigrants able to establish themselves were admitted into the country. Very few Ukrainians qualified.

B. Land Selection

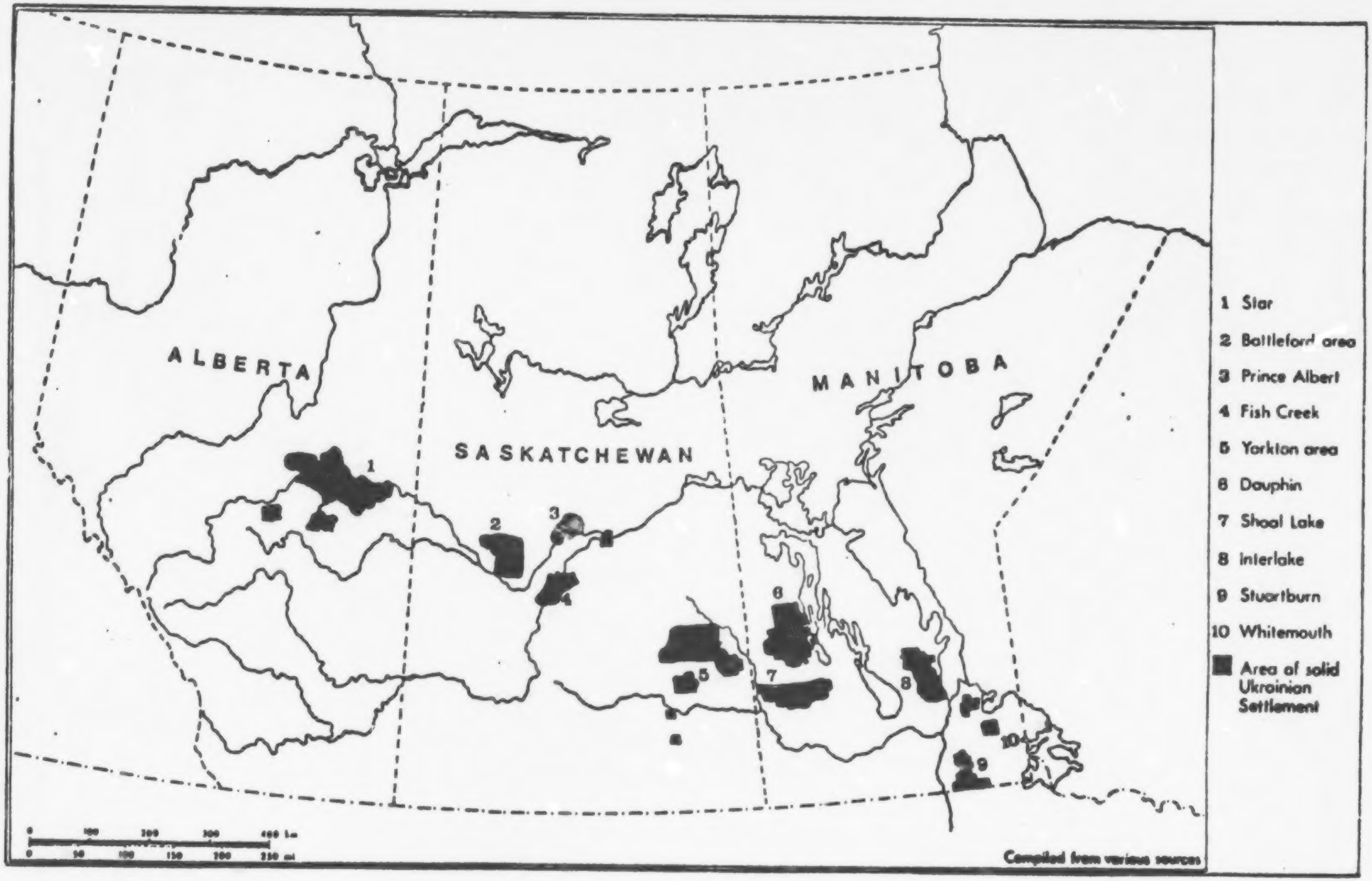
It has long been recognized that many Ukrainian immigrants settled on marginal agricultural lands. These lands, situated along the transition zone between the aspen parkland and the southern fringe of the boreal forest, had been rejected or bypassed by settlers of other nationalities. At least two explanations have been traditionally advanced to explain this state of affairs. The first has suggested that Ukrainians were obliged to accept inferior lands because all the best open grasslands had already been occupied when they arrived. The second explanation has implied that the government and its land agents discriminated against Ukrainian settlers and forced them to accept marginal lands.[44]

Recently John Lehr has argued that these explanations are largely unsubstantiated myths.[45] It was not the unavailability of good open grassland or discrimination by the government but social factors--the traditional resource perceptions of peasants and the strength of kinship, village, district and religious ties--that accounted for Ukrainian settlement on marginal land.

Peasant perceptions and land selection: Unlike farmers from southern Ontario, the United States and northern Europe, most Ukrainian peasant immigrants expected to continue practicing semi-subsistence peasant agriculture in Canada. Ukrainian peasants were not motivated by a burning desire to turn a profit but by the need to provide for their families. Most simply hoped to establish an "equilibrium between family needs and the drudgery of labour."[46] Consequently they assumed that 30 acres of good land would be enough to satisfy their needs and chose homesteads according to the criteria of a subsistence peasant economy rather than a capitalist market economy.

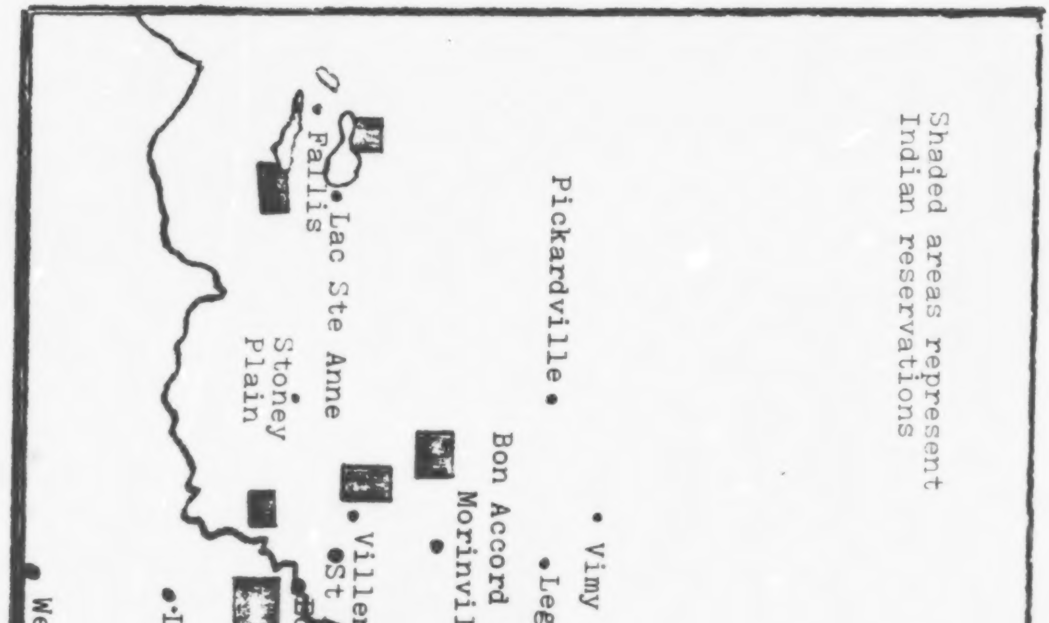
In a peasant subsistence economy fertile agricultural land was simply one among many necessary resources. Other resources were almost as important. The peasant required woodlands for fuel, building material and fencing. Fruits, berries and mushrooms gathered in the forest added variety to the peasant's diet, and the ingredients of folk medicines could also be found in the woods. A marsh or swamp was valued as a source of slough grass, water for cattle, thatched roofing and game birds. Heavy yellow clay deposits were essential for the construction of the traditional peasant dwelling. Stone, sand, willow and juniper were also perceived as valuable building materials.

Ukrainian peasants prized such resources for at least two other reasons. They realized that they had been reduced to total dependence on their former masters after 1848 because the nobility had appropriated so

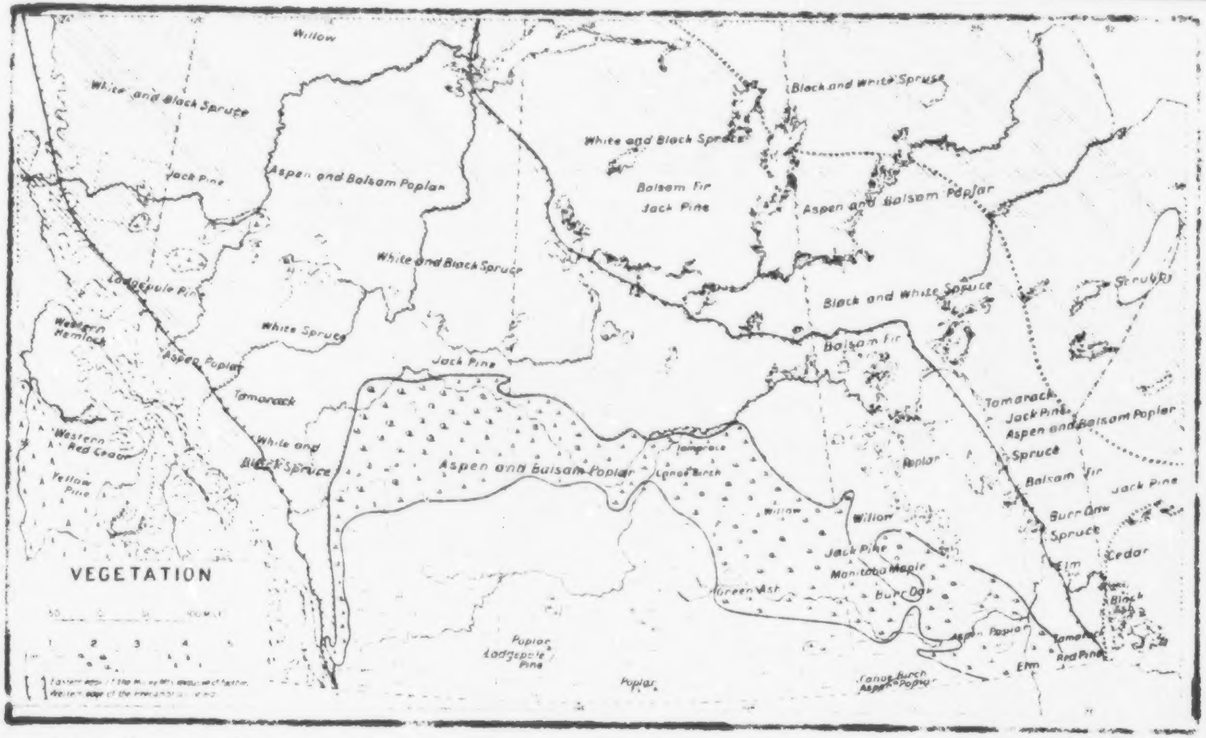

ALBERTA
SASKATCHEWAN
MANITOBA
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
1 Star
2 Battleford area
3 Prince Albert
4 Fish Creek
5 Yorkton area
6 Dauphin
7 Shoal Lake
8 Interlake
9 Stuartburn
10 Whitemouth
Area of solid Ukrainian Settlement
0 100 200 300 400 km
0 50 100 150 200 250 mi
Compiled from various sources

Map 5. Ukrainian Bloc Settlements in the Prairie Provinces, ca. 1914.

Taken from John C. Lehr, "The Process and Pattern of Ukrainian Rural Settlement in Western Canada, 1891-1914." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1978. Page 207.


Shaded areas represent Indian reservations
Pickardville
Lac Ste Anne
Fallis
Stoney Plain
Bon Accord
Morinville
Vimy
Legal
Villeneuve
St Albert
Edmonton
Leduc
Wetaskiwin
Ft Saskatchewan
Josephburg
Bruderheim
Victoria
Beaverhill Lake
Whitford Lake
Whitefish Lake
Vegreville

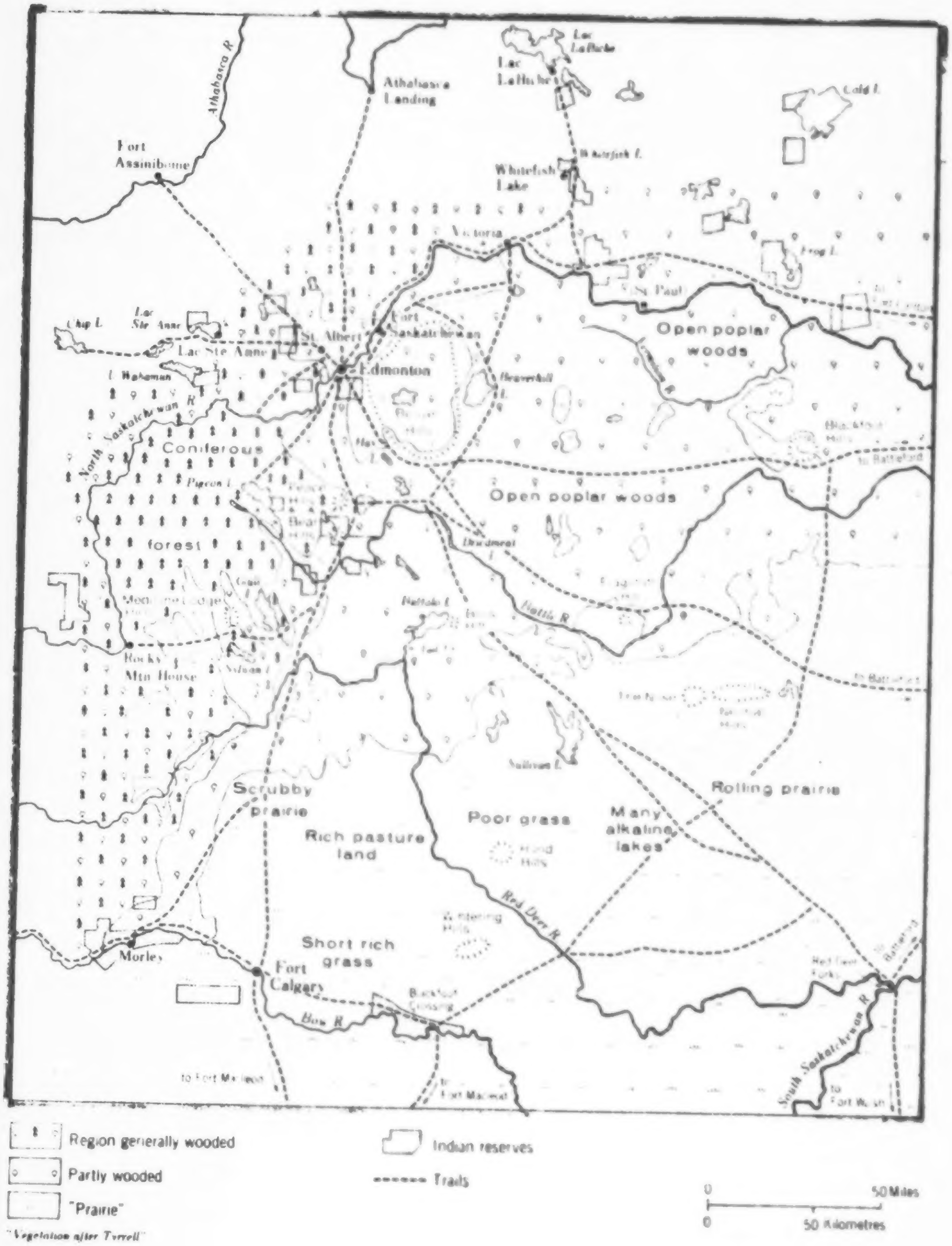
Map 6. Major Non-Ukrainian Settlements in East Central Alberta, ca. 1900.


VEGETATION
Willow
White and Black Spruce
Jack Pine
Aspen and Balsam Poplar
White and Black Spruce
Lodgepole Pine
Western Hemlock
White Spruce
Aspen Poplar
Tamarack
Western Red Cedar
Yellow Pine
White and Black Spruce
Jack Pine
Aspen and Balsam Poplar
Tamarack
Lance Birch
Poplar
Lodgepole Pine
Poplar
Black and White Spruce
White and Black Spruce
Balsam Fir
Jack Pine
Aspen and Balsam Poplar
Black and White Spruce
Balsam Fir
Poplar
Willow
Willow
Jack Pine
Manitoba Maple
Burr Oak
Green Ash
Aspen Poplar
Canoe Birch
Aspen Poplar
Elm
Shrubby
Tamarack
Jack Pine
Aspen and Balsam Poplar
Spruce
Balsam Fir
Jack Pine
Burr Oak
Spruce
Cedar
Elm
Tamarack
Red Pine
1
2
3
4
5

Map 7. Major Vegetation Zones, Prairie Provinces.

Key to numerals: 1.Prairie; short grass almost devoid of trees. 2.Park or grove belt. 3.Northwestern coniferous forest. 4.Semi-open coniferous forest. 5.Treeless.

Taken from W.A. Mackintosh, Prairie Settlement: The Geographical Setting. Canadian Frontiers of Settlement. vol. 1. Toronto: MacMillan, 1934. Page 22.


Athabasca R.
Athabasca Landing
Fort Assiniboine
Lac La Biche
Cold L.
Whitefish Lake
Victoria
St. Paul
Frog L.
Lac Ste Anne
Chip L.
St. Albert
Fort Saskatchewan
Edmonton
Open poplar woods
Beaverhill L.
Coniferous
forest
North Saskatchewan R.
Pigeon L.
Open poplar woods
to Battleford
Battle R.
Buffalo L.
Rocky Mtn House
Sylvan L.
Scrubby prairie
Rich pasture land
Poor grass
Many alkaline lakes
Rolling prairie
Sullivan L.
Hand Hills
Red Deer R.
Wintering Hills
Short rich grass
Morley
Fort Calgary
Blackfoot Crossing
Bow R.
to Fort Macleod
to Fort Macleod
South Saskatchewan R.
to Fort Walsh
Region generally wooded
Partly wooded
"Prairie"
Indian reserves
Trails
0
50 Miles
0
50 Kilometres
"Vegetation after Tyrrell"

Map 8. Natural Vegetation, Central Alberta, ca. 1890.

Taken from William C. Wonders, "Far Corner of the Strange Empire: Central Alberta on the Eve of Homestead Settlement." Great Plains Quarterly III (2) (1983). Page 97.

much of the forest, meadow, pasture and marsh lands. Secondly, since few were well capitalized when they arrived in Canada, "they based their appraisal of a prospective homestead site upon the potential it offered for immediate survival, rather than upon its ultimate potential for long term economic growth."[47]

Subconscious factors also entered into the selection of land. Sentiment and nostalgia played an important role. Peasants who had suddenly left the district in which they and their families had dwelt for hundreds of years and found themselves in a distant land where the customs and the language were incomprehensible, felt a strong desire for environmental continuity. The peasant's material and popular culture, his songs and folklore, were tightly intertwined with the natural environment of his homeland. Galicia and Bukovyna, it must be stressed were not steppe lands resembling the Canadian prairie. They were forested regions at the base of the Carpathian mountains. A woodland environment could create the illusion of "at homeness," a comforting sense of continuity that facilitated adjustment to the new land.

Finally, it should be mentioned that Dr. Oleskiv's pamphlets had also advocated settlement on the prairie fringe since Oleskiv had realized that the immigrants would lack the capital and know-how to establish themselves on the open prairie. As a result those immigrants who settled in east central Alberta, where the land was generally fertile and the resource base was wide, were much more fortunate than those who settled in Manitoba, especially in the Stuartburn and Interlake regions, where the resource base was wide but the soil was infertile.

The government and land selection: Lehr has found little evidence to support the argument that government authorities consciously discriminated against Ukrainian settlers. Nevertheless he maintains that "the geography of Ukrainian settlement in Western Canada would have been radically different had not the Canadian Government, from 1896 onwards, taken a direct hand in their settlement."[48] He also admits that at least some immigrants received submarginal land because of the government officials' propensity for ethnic stereotyping.

The government began to take an active role in the settlement of Ukrainian immigrants when it became apparent that most Ukrainians wished to settle among their countrymen near the Star settlement in east central Alberta. The prospect of a solid Ukrainian bloc settlement covering hundreds of square miles clashed with the government's objective of assimilating and Canadianizing alien immigrants. Complete dispersal of Ukrainian settlers was not a viable solution. Consequently a compromise solution that combined the advantages of bloc settlement with rapid assimilation was found. A number of smaller bloc settlements or "settlement nodes" were established throughout the Prairie region. Wooded areas and lands adjacent to established (non-Ukrainian) settlements or industries were chosen so that the settlers might have an opportunity to generate capital by selling cordwood or seeking "off farm" employment. A number of the new sites chosen by government agents, especially the Whitemouth district in southern Manitoba, were vastly inferior to the settlement in east central Alberta, although there is no evidence to suggest that the agents were conscious of this fact.

The new "settlement nodes" were usually settled by immigrants with no clear destination and no friends and relatives. Coercion by government officials and confrontations with immigrants occurred on those occasions when officials tried to settle immigrants who wished to go elsewhere in new settlements where their fellow countrymen were absent. The confrontations were the result of social rather than economic considerations. Settlers protested because they wanted to be near friends and relatives, not because they suspected the lands to be of inferior quality. In fact, land of superior quality was often rejected in order to join friends on inferior land. Once a nucleus of Ukrainians had been settled in all ten or so of the "nodes" the confrontations came to an end.

Because most Ukrainian immigrants arrived with little capital and displayed a preference for wooded country, government officials tended to assume that all Ukrainians wanted and required this kind of land. It was on the basis of this steriotype that Ukrainians were directed towards the marginal areas of the aspen parkland and that the land for the new settlement "nodes" had been selected. But there was no conscious discrimination concealed beneath these policies.

Immigration agents were reluctant to give aid to destitute Ukrainian settlers because the Liberals were sensitive to charges that the "Galicians" would become a public burden. In fact the RNWMP acquired a more benevolent reputation among the settlers than did immigration agents.[49] Nevertheless, the government did extend aid when starvation threatened and immigration officials connived to allow latecomers to squat on good railroad lands located at the fringe of Ukrainian settlements.

Kinship, society and land selection: The high priority Ukrainian settlers placed upon the company of their fellows--kinsmen, fellow villagers, residents of the same district, and co-religionists--also added to their propensity for settling marginal and submarginal land. While the first immigrants to settle an area usually selected reasonably good land, those who followed them were prepared to accept poorer land provided they could remain within the social/cultural milieu of their choice. Some immigrants were even prepared to abandon improved homesteads to join friends and relatives. Only after Canadian tastes and aspirations had been assimilated did the quality of land become more important than the social environment. When this happened the bloc settlements stopped expanding.

Although all settlers sought the company of their countrymen, the degree to which Ukrainians reproduced kinship, village, district and provincial/religious affiliations in their settlements was unusual. Immigrants bearing the same surname frequently settled next to one another. Their closest neighbours tended to be non-relatives from the same village or more frequently from the same district. Moreover, Galicians and Bukovynians lived in almost total separation and rarely mixed because of traditional prejudices, and differences in religion and popular culture. This separation was especially apparent in Stuartburn and in east central Alberta, where the greatest concentration of Bukovynians had settled.[50]

There was also a symbiotic relationship among the various ethnic groups from Galicia and Bukovyna. As the case of Pylypow and the Star colony illustrates, Ukrainians tended to settle near established Galician German settlers. Poles settled among Galician Ukrainians while Rumanians settled among Bukovynian Ukrainians because of similiarities of religion, familiarity with the language and common folkways. Prior to the 1920s relations between the groups of peasant settlers seem to have been amicable.[51]

C. The Settlement of East Central Alberta

The Ukrainian bloc settlement in east central Alberta was located in the northwestern corner of the park belt. North of the North Saskatchewan River, especially north and west of Township 58 Range 17 the Ukrainian colony spilled over into the forest zone. The park belt was characterized by a "level or gently rolling surface . . . broken only by rivers and the 'breaks' along the banks."[52] It was covered by fertile grassland and dotted with "bluffs" or small patches of woodland a few square rods to several acres in area. The "bluffs" were thicker and more frequent along the northern margin of the park belt near the forest zone than along the southern prairie margin. The climate in the park belt was sub-humid, the result of the humid forest zone to the north and the semi-arid prairie zone to the south. The zone had an annual rainfall of 14 to 20 inches. Normal precipitation during the five months of the growing season ranged from nine inches in the north to 14 inches in the southern section of the park belt. Rainfall was sufficient for small grains, timothy, brome grass and some of the clovers. Along the forest margin early frosts were common. As a result the growing season varied from 130 to 160 days. Early frosts promoted a diversification of agriculture in the zone. Less wheat was grown here than in the prairie zone and more cattle and swine were bred. The soils of the park belt were dark brown and black and from 10 to 15 inches in depth. The surface layer was much deeper here than in the prairie zone. Nitrates, lime and phosphorus were also very plentiful in the soil.

Like the rest of central Alberta, east central Alberta consisted of a "level-to-undulating surface at an elevation of about 2,500 feet."[53] At the southwestern edge of what would become the Ukrainian bloc settlement the Beaver Hills provided a more hilly landscape. The region was traversed from west to east by the North Saskatchewan River and a number of smaller rivers (Vermilion) and creeks (Beaverhill, White Earth, Birch). Within the park belt the region was covered by tall grass interspersed with aspen poplar "bluffs". North and west of the North Saskatchewan River tree coverage was continuous. In addition to the aspen it included lodgepole pine, jack pine, white spruce and paper birch. The climate was continental; winters were long and cold, summers were brief with cool to warm temperatures.

When the first Ukrainian settlers arrived in east central Alberta the region around Edmonton was just beginning to break out of its isolation. Fort Edmonton, built in 1795, had been the regional supply and transportation centre for the fur trade. Although trappers and traders, travellers and hunters, and explorers and scientists had visited the Fort, Edmonton remained isolated until well into the 1870s. Only in 1877 was a telegraph link established between Edmonton and Winnipeg permitting Edmonton's first newspaper, The Bulletin, to appear in 1880. Prior to 1884 the only form of transportation connecting Edmonton with the outer world was the steamboat which made its way up and down the North Saskatchewan River as far as Battleford and Prince Albert during the summer. In 1884 a stagecoach route was set up between Edmonton and Calgary through which the CPR main line had been constructed. A Calgary-Edmonton CPR branch line was completed in August 1891.

During the 1880s the absence of a local market and low prices restricted the growth of farming. The few farmers in the region concentrated on mixed farming and grew little wheat. Homesteaders began pouring into the region after 1890. Prior to the 1890s, as J.H. Warkentin has shown, "lumbering was important west of Edmonton, and coal was mined on the banks of the North Saskatchewan, with 1,200 tons produced in 1886. Besides this the operations of the Hudson's Bay Company were still important to the economy of the region, and a prospector could average $5.00 in gold dust a day, panning in the North Saskatchewan River."[54]

Non-Ukrainian settlements There were about 4,000 people in the Edmonton region in 1886. Over 25 per cent were of Indian origin. In central Alberta a number of Indian reservations were located immediately south of Edmonton and west of the Beaver Hills, as well as west of Edmonton as far as Lac Ste. Anne. In east central Alberta the Saddle Lake and Cache Lake Indian reservations were located to the north and west of the bend in the North Saskatchewan River opposite the Snipe Hills. The reservations were inhabited primarily by Plains and Woodland Cree although Stoneys and Iroquois were found on some of the reservations west and north of Edmonton. Metis had congregated around missions established by Roman Catholic missionaries at Lac Ste. Anne (1843), Lac La Biche (1853) and St. Albert (1861), and by the Methodists at Victoria (1863). The settlement at St. Paul de Metis, established by Father Lacombe in 1896 in an effort to convert its inhabitants to a sedentary agricultural way of life did not survive. It was ultimately revived by French-speaking settlers from the East.

White settlers had begun to trickle into the region during the 1870s. In 1872 Joseph and Francois Lamoureux had settled on the left bank of the North Saskatchewan across the river from modern Fort Saskatchewan. Before the end of the decade Matt McCaulley and A. MacDonald took up residence on land near the NWMP post established at Fort Saskatchewan in 1875. Then in 1881 Pete McCallum began to squat on the eastern shore of Beaverhill Lake (T52-R17). He was soon joined by the Steeles, Fanes and McAllisters who made up the core of the Beaver Lake settlement. In 1882 Phillip Ottewell established the first farm in the vicinity of Clover Bar.[55]

Settlers from continental Europe began to arrive in the Edmonton region during the 1890s. In 1891, 53 families (350 persons) of German settlers from eastern Galicia reached Edmonton after spending two years near Medicine Hat. All settled within a 30-mile radius of Edmonton.[56] While some of the German settlers went west and took lands in the Stony Plain area and in the vicinity of Riviere Qui Barre and Rabbit Hill, many went northeast to Fort Saskatchewan. They settled in the Beaver Hills and called their colony Josephburg (T55-R21). Three years later, in July 1894, a group of German Moravians from the Ukrainian province of Volhynia in the Russian Empire, arrived in Edmonton and settled the land in the Bruderheim area, a few miles north of the Germans from eastern Galicia.[57]

The first group of 65 French-speaking settlers from Quebec organized by Father Morin settled in the environs of the mission at St. Albert, some 10 miles northwest of Edmonton, in 1891. During the years that followed many more French-speaking settlers from Quebec, the United States, France and Belgium settled around St. Albert as well as further north at Villeneuve, Morinville, Legal, Vimy and Picardville. In 1893-94, however, part of a group of repatriated French Canadians from Kansas, who had intended to settle around St. Albert and Morinville, established a French colony on the rich soil along the Vermilion River. Within a few years the colony came to be known as Vegreville, in honour of an Oblate missionary who had been active in the region (T52-R14).[58]

In the summer of 1892, 298 settlers from Parry Sound, Ontario, reached east central Alberta. They selected lands in Townships 53 and 54, Range 21, and in Township 55, Ranges 19 and 20 "around the north and northeast flanks of the Beaver Hills near modern Lamont."[59] Their settlement was immediately south and east of the Galician German colony at Josephburg. During the summer of 1893 new contingents of Parry Sounders settled beside the South Victoria Trail, just north of where it crossed Beaverhill Creek (T55 & T56-R19). By the end of the year there were 630 settlers from Parry Sound in east central Alberta. Further northeast in Township 56, Range 19, around the shores of tiny Limestone Lake, Ed Carey, David McGall, a retired Mountie, and Simon Borwick, a descendent of an old fur-trading family, had settled. Harry Belcher, another retired Mountie, was grazing cattle six miles east in Township 56, Range 18. Two other retired Mounties, Richard Guthrie and Albert Nelson, were also running herds of cattle in this area.[60]

Twenty miles northeast of Beaverhill Creek a number of English-speaking Metis families had settled on river lots west of the Methodist mission at Victoria on the North Saskatchewan River. Some of these families -- the Whitfords, Monkmans, McGillvrays and others -- had settled a few miles southeast along the Winnipeg Trail, the old fur traders' route, on the shore of Whitford Lake (T56-R15 & 16), during the 1880s. The north shore of Whitford Lake continued to attract English and French-speaking Metis settlers until the turn of the century. As the Whitford settlement expanded during the 1890s and became a major supply center in east central Alberta, it attracted more English-speaking settlers. In 1893 a few ranchers settled on the east side of the Lake. They grazed their cattle on the grasslands that stretched all the way to Eagletail Hill some eight miles east (T56-R15). English-speaking ranchers continued to settle the region until 1898.[61]

During the summer of 1892 American settlers from the states of Nebraska and North Dakota settled the country south of the Victoria Trail near Josephburg, and then expanded south of Fort Saskatchewan into the lands around Griesbach. The following year a group of prosperous Norwegians from Minnesota, North Dakota and South Dakota arrived in east central Alberta and selected homesteads immediately north of the Parry Sounders in an area which later came to be called Limestone Lake (T56-R19).[62]

Finally, at the turn of the century, English-speaking colonists, primarily from the United States, occupied the level and rich lands along the Vermilion River. By 1901 their settlement extended along the river for 20 miles northeast of Old Vegreville to Warwick (T52 & 53-R14).[63]

Small colonies of Rumanians around Boian Marea (T56-R14) and of Poles around Krakow (T55-R17) had also appeared shortly after 1900.

Ukrainian settlements Although Ivan Pylypow and Wasyl Eleniak had come to Western Canada in the fall of 1891, it was not until the summer of 1892 that the first permanent settlers -- a contingent of seven families from the village of Nebyliv led by Nykola Tychkowski and Anton Paish -- filed homestead entries. They chose homesteads seven or eight miles northeast of Fort Saskatchewan in Township 55, Ranges 21 & 22, next to land farmed by John Krebs. Krebs, one of the Galician Germans who had settled in east central Alberta in 1891, had been a school friend of

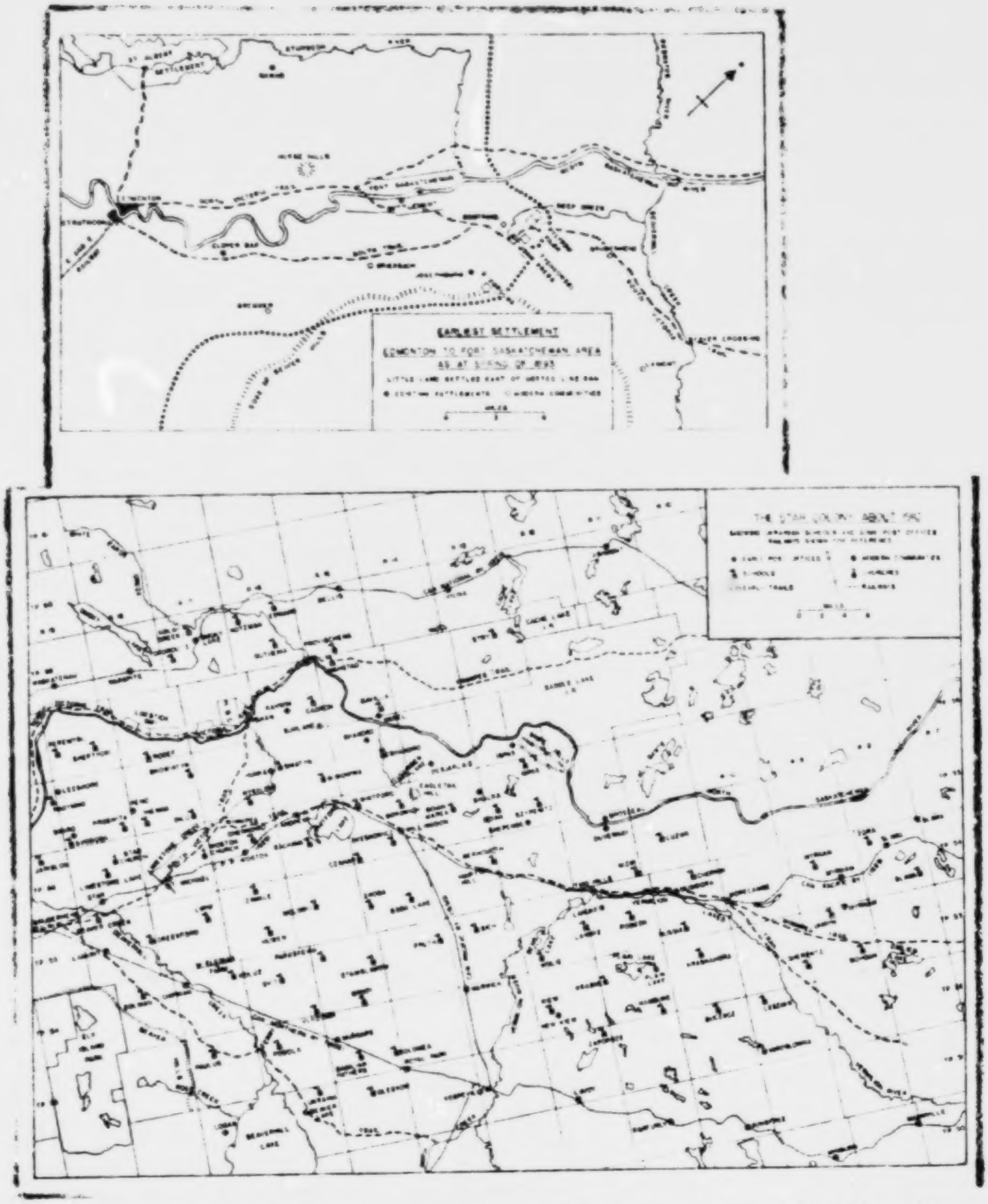
Pylypow's. When the latter returned to Canada in 1893 he selected his first homestead adjacent to those of his fellow villagers in Township 55, Range 21. However, when his first home burned down in May 1894, Pylypow decided to throw in his lot with three fellow villagers -- Fedor Melnyk, Mykhailo Pullishy and Wasyl Feniak -- who had just arrived from Nebyliv. The four men selected the four quarter sections that comprised Section 22, Township 56, Range 19, four miles north of the Beaver Crossing and directly east and north of lands settled by the Norwegian Americans and a contingent of Parry Sounders. Section 22, Township 56, Range 19 proved to be the nucleus of the Ukrainian bloc settlement in east central Alberta. Within a matter of months most of the Ukrainians who had settled in Township 55, Range 21, had moved to join Pylypow, Melnyk, Pullishy and Feniak. By the spring of 1895 there were 12 Ukrainian families in Township 56, Range 19. Most of those who arrived that summer gravitated toward this nucleus, although a few chose to settle close to Krebs (T55-R21) while others headed southwest of Edmonton and settled at Nisku and Rabbit Hill near Leduc.[64]

In May 1896 the first group of settlers organized by Prof. Oleskiv arrived in east central Alberta. When they arrived there was already a band of settlement 15 miles wide and about 45 miles long stretching along the South Victoria Trail from Edmonton to Edna at the Beaver Crossing. Settlements were also located around the shores of Beaverhill Lake and Vegreville. The Ukrainian newcomers occupied the 16 sections available in Township 56, Range 18, as well as homesteads in the adjoining townships (T57-R18, T56-R17, T55-R18). By the fall of 1896 300 Ukrainians were living on 75 homesteads in seven townships. Two years later, in December 1898, the Ukrainian bloc settlement consisted of 500 Ukrainian families spread over 10 townships (T57-R18, 19, 20; T56-R17, 18, 19, 20; T55-R17, 18; T54-R18). On 1 January 1899, Theodore Nemirsky opened the first Ukrainian post office in Wostok at the eastern edge of the colony. Just a few miles to the east lay the English-speaking settlment at Whitford Lake and the lands settled by the ranchers.[65]

The Whitford Lake settlement and the ranchers created a barrier that stopped the advance of Ukrainian settlers and deflected them north towards the North Saskatchewan River and south towards Beaverhill Lake. As a result the 950 Galicians and Bukovynians who came to east central Alberta in 1899, and the almost 1,400 who arrived in 1900, settled on exceptionally fertile lands. This was especially true of the 22 families, including the Shandros and the Hawreliaks, from the village of Ruskyi Banyliv, Bukovyna, who settled the fertile unforested valley of the brook flowing out of Cucumber Lake into the North Saskatchewan River (T57-R15) in 1899. In 1900, Ukrainians from Bukovyna selected homesteads north of Cucumber Lake (T57-R15), in the high lands south of Eagletail Hill (T56-R15), and south of Whitford Lake (T56-R16). Daniel and Wasyl Tomyn from Galicia became the first Ukrainians to settle as far east as the Two Hills area (T55-R12). However, the largest proportion of those who arrived in 1899 and 1900 settled on the flat rich lands south and east of Wostok, between Whitford Lake and Beaverhill Lake. Only the narrow band of French- and English-speaking settlers on the east shore of Beaverhill Lake, in the Vegreville area, and along the Vermilion River, temporarily stopped the expansion of the Ukrainian settlement.[66] By the end of 1900 Ukrainian settlement extended for 40 miles east of Bruderheim. According to J.G. MacGregor, it "was bounded on the north by the North Saskatchewan River to a point near the half-breed settlement of Desjarlais. Thence its eastern periphery ran as a fairly straight line south to Vegreville. From there its southern edge curved west towards Beaverhill Lake and via Lamont, back to Bruderheim. Within the area ... the Ukrainians had filed on more than fifteen hundred quarters in some thirty townships."[67]

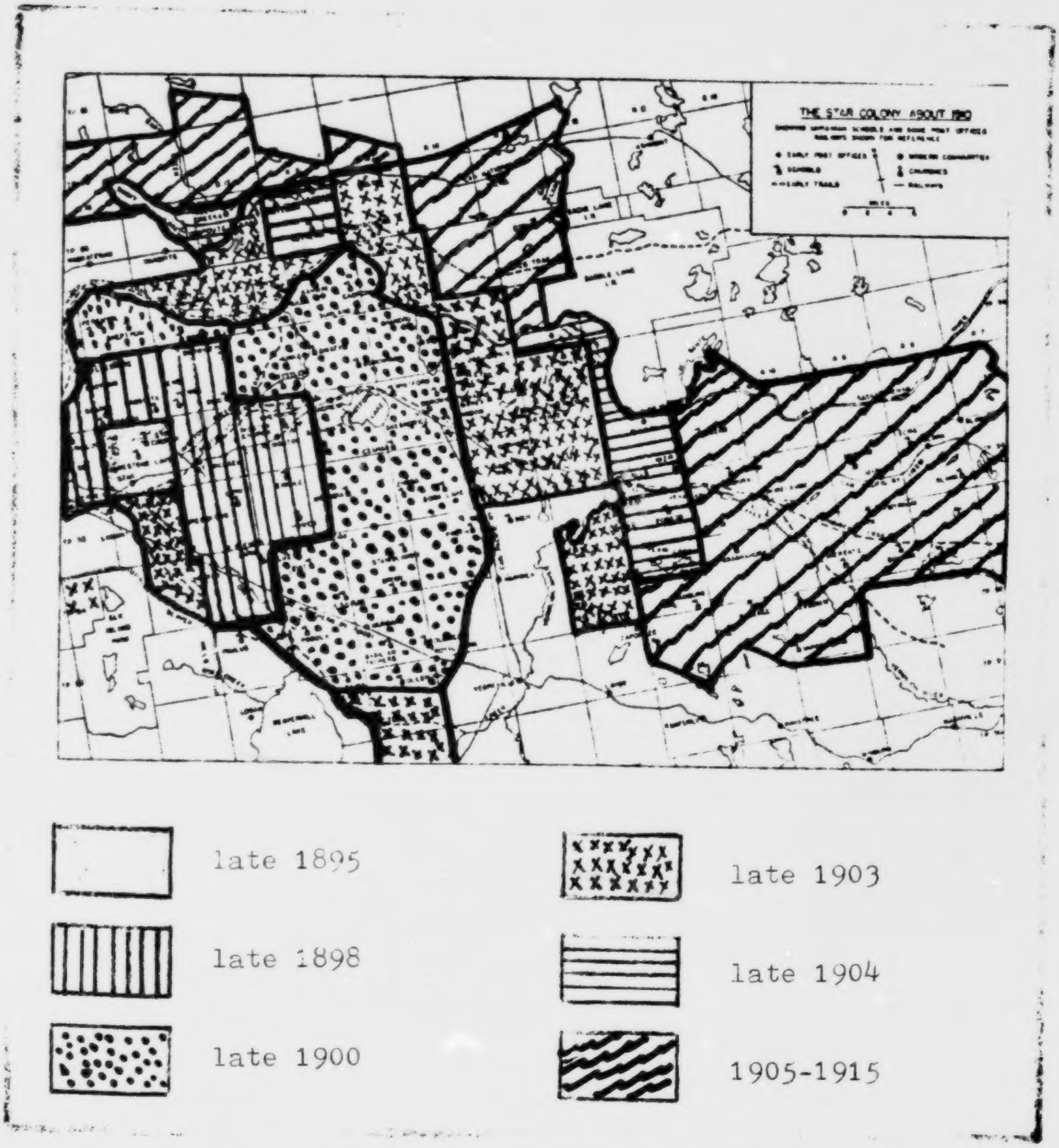
Between 1901 and 1903 about 3500 immigrants from Galicia and Bukovyna settled in Alberta. For the first time many began to settle on homesteads north of the North Saskatchewan River. Portions of the Smoky Lake area (T59-R17) began to attract settlers in 1901. By 1903, four townships south and west of Smoky Lake were being settled. In 1904 Ukrainian settlers spilled over into the township east of Smoky Lake (T59-R16) and settled along the White Earth Creek (T59-R17). Although north of the North Saskatchewan River most of the land was wooded, the lands settled in 1904 were also characterized by poor soils. During these years Ukrainians from Bukovyna also settled the poor lands around Ispas and Szypenitz (T56-R13) east of Eagletail Hill and the rough terrain in the Snipe Hills east of Ispas and Szypenitz. Galician Ukrainians settled the good lands around Kaleland and the good lands extending northeast of Vegreville through New Kiew and on towards Two Hills (T53 & 54-R13). They also settled the poor lands north and south of Two Hills. In 1904 Ukrainians filed on the rough stony land extending from the environs of Plain Lake (T53-R12) north to the North Saskatchewan River. They also began to settle the land around Myrnam (T54-R9) on the eastern side of the Vermilion River valley. By the spring of 1904 there were 16,000 Ukrainians on 2,500 homesteads in the Ukrainian bloc settlement in east central Alberta and in Nisku and Leduc southwest of Edmonton.[68] In east central Alberta Ukrainians were scattered across 53 townships.[69]

After 1905 most newcomers settled on lands of generally inferior quality. These included the lands east of the Two Hills-Lavoy axis (T52-55, R8-12), especially those extending for some 30 miles south of the North Saskatchewan River.[70] The other major area of settlement during these years comprised the districts north of the North Saskatchewan River and east of Smoky Lake as far as Cache Lake and Garner Lake (T59 & 60-R12). By 1914 the Ukrainian bloc settlement extended over 70 miles from Edna-Star in the west to Slawa in the east and over 40 miles from Smoky Lake in the north to the outskirts of Mundare and Vegreville in the south. It comprised 70 townships and an area of about 2,500 square miles.[71]


EARLIEST SETTLEMENT
EDMONTON TO FORT SASKATCHEWAN AREA
MILES
THE STAR COLONY ABOUT
MILES

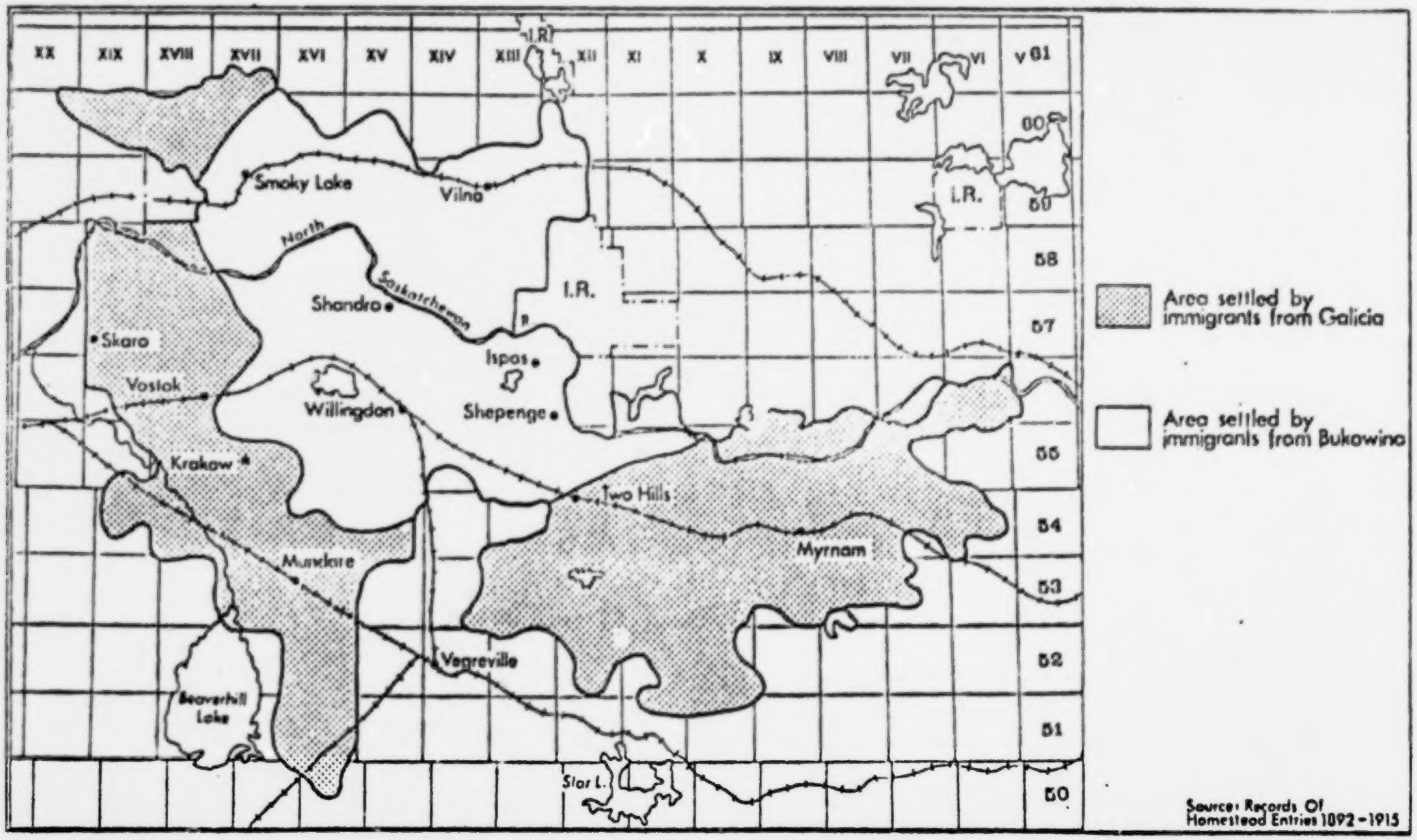
Map 9. The Ukrainian Colony in East Central Alberta, ca. 1910.

Taken from James G. MacGregor, Vilni Zemli (Free Lands): The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969. Pages 39 and 215.


THE STAR COLONY ABOUT
EARLY POST OFFICES
SCHOOLS
CHURCHES
EARLY TRAILS
RAILWAYS
late 1895
late 1898
late 1900
late 1903
late 1904
1905-1915

Map 10. The Growth of the Ukrainian Settlement in East Central Alberta, 1892-1914.

Superimposed on a map taken from James G. MacGregor, Vilni Zemli (Free Lands): The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969. Page 215.


XX
XIX
XVIII
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I.R.
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Smoky Lake
Vilna
North Saskatchewan
Shandro
I.R.
I.R.
Skaro
Vostok
Willingdon
Ispas
Shepenge
Krakow
Two Hills
Myrnam
Mundare
Vegreville
Beaverhill Lake
Star L.
Area settled by immigrants from Galicia
Area settled by immigrants from Bukowina

Source: Records Of Homestead Entries 1892-1915

Map 11. Area of Galician and Bukovynian Settlements in East Central Alberta, ca. 1914.

Taken from John C. Lehr, "The Process and Pattern of Ukrainian Rural Settlement in Western Canada, 1891-1914." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1978. Page 273.

4. Peasant Society

Peasant perceptions and values had drawn Ukrainian immigrants toward the marginal lands on the fringe of the aspen parkland. Peasant perceptions would also impede the settlers' material and cultural progress in the new land. This seems to be the conclusion reached by a number of the educated villagers who had led groups of Dr. Oleskiv's settlers or who had come to Canada on their own.[72] Perhaps the most prominent representative of this "village intellignetsia" during the early years was Cyril Genik, the first Ukrainian Immigration officer. As an educated son of peasant parents who was an acquaintance of Ivan Franko's, and the organizer of the reading club and school in the village of Bereziv Nyzhnyi, near Kolomyia, Genik knew and understood peasants and was well aware of the less than idyllic side of village life. In his official capacity he pleaded with immigrants to settle in Alberta, where there was plenty of good land, and he discouraged those settlers who wanted to recreate traditional village settlements rather than settle on separate homesteads. If traditional villages were recreated in Canada, he feared that

> the peasants will commence to fight among themselves ...[If] you settle sixty-four families on one section of land they will split each other's heads open quarrelling about their children, their pigs and their chickens.

A village, Genik insisted,

> is not a convenience, it is hell, and we simply will not have any villages here; they will live a mile from one another and even then it will become too crowded for them...[73]

Recent historical, sociological and anthropological studies of peasant society and village life in Europe suggest that Genik was not exaggerating.

A. Peasant Society and the "Image of Limited Good"

In an environment where scarcity and insecurity are the basic facts of life, peasants develop a world view which is peculiar to their type of society and which influences their inter-personal behaviour. Comparative studies of peasant societies suggest that the dominant theme in the cognitive orientation of peasants is what George M. Foster has called the "Image of Limited Good":

> ...peasants view their social, economic and natural universes--their total environment--as one in which all of the desired things in life such as land and wealth, health, friendship and love, manliness and honor, respect and status, power and influence, security and safety, exist in finite quantity and are always in short supply, as far as the peasant is concerned. Not only do these and all other "good things" exist in finite and limited quantities, but in addition there is no way directly within peasant power to increase the available quantities. It is as if the obvious fact of land shortage in a densely populated area applied to all other desired things: not enough to go around. "Good" like land, is seen as inherent in nature, there to be divided and redivided, if necessary, but not to be augmented...[Thus] if "Good" exists in limited amounts which cannot be expanded...it follows that an individual or a family can improve its position only at the expense of others. Hence an apparent relative improvement in someone's position with respect to any "Good" is viewed as a threat to the entire community.[74]

The "Image of Limited Good" reinforced the fatalism, careless stoicism and lethargic passivity to which many peasants were prone as a result of recurring calamities, disasters and economic exploitation. It also influenced inter-personal relations and family life. Suspicion, envy, mutual mistrust and jealousy were common, and peasants were eternally vigilant with respect to the activities of their neighbours. Cooperation was impeded since each family saw itself "in perpetual, unrelenting struggle with its fellows for possession of or control over what it considered to be its share of scarce values".[75] The interests of the family were the sole criteria for the peasant's morality. All members were expected to subordinate their interests to the survival of this basic economic unit. Marriages were contracted for pragmatic reasons and women were expected to run the household and bear children. The authority of the male head of the family could not be violated lest his reputation suffer thereby encouraging stronger parties to exploit the family. Finally, peasant virtues were not Christian, but "the natural virtues of a realistic people living within the social and cosmic confines of a ... world in which to love one's neighbor to let down one's guard in the face of the relentless struggle for existence, would simply mean to commit suicide."[76]

B. The Persistence of Peasant Behaviour Patterns

As long as they remained isolated, at the mercy of the elements and exposed to the constant threat of illness and death, resignation and fatalism continued to afflict many Ukrainian settlers. Proverbs current in the Old Country as well as in Canada[77] asserted that Ukrainians were created by God to suffer misfortune and poverty (*Rusyna Pan Bih sotvoryv na bidu ta nuzhdu*). Nothing could be done to change things---as God ordains, so it shall be (*Tak bude iak Boh dast*). Man's life and his destiny were bitter because such was the will of God (*Hirke zhyttia i hirka dolia, nych ne vdiesh Bozha volia*). Misery was universal (*Bez lykha v sviti ne buvaie*), pain was the natural attribute of life (*De nema boliu, tam nema i zhyttia*) and misfortunes were sure to follow one another (*Bida bidu perebude, odna myne druha bude*). A number of educated Ukrainians who visited Canada were struck by the sense of hopelessness and resignation they saw among the immigrants.[78] Protestant missionaries also noted the phenomenon. Rev. C.H. Johnson, the Methodist missionary in Chipman, Alberta reported that a woman "broke the quarantine regulations in a diphteria case saying 'God will punish whom He will' and in consequence lost five children."[79]

Where scarcity prevailed and years of labour failed to produce improvement, suspicion, envy and jealousy characterized inter-personal relations. In 1916 a Canadian journalist visiting Lamont wrote that:

> One element which, in the earlier days of the colony helped to retard progress somewhat was the fact that if one man happened to very far outdistance his neighbours they at once began to look upon him with suspicion. They were peasant people, and in the crowded conditions in the homeland had found it practically impossible to ever better their condition very materially. The man who succeeded in doing so in this country must have some look in somewhere that they did not have. Immediately he was treated with suspicion and more than likely boycotted.[80]

"The wealth of one" a proverb declared, "is the ruin of ten others" (Bahatstvo odnoho ie ruinoiu desiatiokh). Another proverb stated that "behind every rich man stands the devil with a loaf of plaited bread" (Za bahachem, sam chort z kolachem). Litigation was common among Ukrainian immigrants and a sociologist reported in 1931 that "...the Ukrainians fight with no one so well or so often as they do among themselves."[81]

As in most peasant societies the fate of Ukrainian women was unenviable. According to one proverb, any man who wished to become prosperous had to get married first (Khto khoche dorobytysia, musyt ozhenytysia). A Bukovynian proverb asserted that an unbeaten wife was like an unsharpened scythe (Zhinka ne byta, to kosa ne klepana).[82] In Canada during the early years marriages continued to be arranged by parents for economic reasons from time to time, and fourteen year old girls were sometimes married off to men two or three times their age. "A man marries a wife frequently because he needs one to plaster his house for him, to milk the cows, [or] to get in the hay while he goes to work on the railroad" observed a journalist in Alberta.[83] In Pakan, Alberta, a man "buried one wife and married another in the same day...to save the expense of two visits from the priest."[84] One of Klymasz's female informants admitted that "...the fellow came for me on Saturday and on Sunday he married me...and I didn't even know his name."[85] Doctors described peasant women as being in a broken down condition. Their confinement to the home bred superstition, extreme timidity and conservatism. They retained a strong attachment to magical beliefs and practices.

The lot of children was not much easier. Child care methods were not very sophisticated and the infant mortality rate remained high.

Those who survived were expected to help with the work (Dai Bozhe dytynu, nai khoch vidpochynu). School teachers suspected the children "did not know how to play" and complained that they looked too much like miniature adults rather than like children. Ukrainian school teachers complained that some less enlightened settlers regarded extra-curricular school activities as a useless waste of time and accused the teachers of being blood-suckers who lived at their expense.[86]

Peasant immigrants were certainly "religious" but they paid scant attention to Christian ethical principles. Proverbs compared "goodness" with "foolishness" (Dobryi durnomu brat) and insisted that only children and fools told the truth (Dity i durni hovoriat pravdu). What really mattered, as far as many of the peasants were concerned, was the ritual--the correct manner of appeasing a fickle deity and securing its favour. Before retiring for the night immigrants in east central Alberta were seen making signs of the cross on doors, windows and other apertures in order to guard against entrance by evil spirits.[87] Settlers near Pakan, Alberta, observed the seven week Lenten Fast in 1903 with such rigour "that during the last week a number were hospitalized."[88] Summing up his impressions in 1916, Wasyl Swystun stated that Ukrainian immigrants "attend the church with little thought of trying to understand the religion or apply it in their daily life. The church rites are regarded by them as important."[89]

Although priests were respected as trained and consecrated specialists who served as agents of the divine power they were not trusted in day to day relations. Proverbs described priests as comfortable (Nikomu tak ne dobre iak popovy i kotovy) do-nothings (Ne robyv pip na khlib i ne bude) who were untrustworthy (Ne vir popovi iak psovi) and insatiably greedy (Ne hoden popa nasytyty, iak diriavoho mikha).

Finally, magical beliefs and supersitition continued to survive in Canada. After the execution of an elderly settler convicted of murdering his wife with an axe, settlers near Mundare, Alberta, refused to provide NWMP constables with any further information because "...it was claimed by some of them that the absence of badly needed rain was due to the execution of Zebhley, and if more persons were punished the further consequences would be disastrous."[90] In 1916, in east central Alberta, a half built barn was "taken down and removed because the displeasure of the evil spirits over the first choice of site had resulted in the serious illness of the owner's wife."[91]

It is difficult to estimate what proportion of the immigrants retained perceptions, beliefs and behaviour patterns such as those described above. No research has been done on the subject. One thing is certain however. Only the realization that men could augment the "good" things in life, that they could be agents of change and progress, could eradicate these lingering perceptions and behaviour patterns. Prior to 1914, however, in many districts of east central Alberta, scarcity and the hardships of pioneer farming reinforced traditional peasant perceptions and behaviour patterns. As will be seen in the following chapters these attitudes and behaviour patterns tended to inhibit the immigrants' potential for material and cultural advancement in Canada. Although they were by no means the single or even the most important obstacle to a better way of life, on occasion traditional peasant perceptions prevented the adoption of modern farming techniques, provided fertile soil for petty factionalism, impeded the speedy construction and efficient operation of schools, and undermined efforts to organize Ukrainian settlers for political activity. Peasant perceptions and behaviour patterns also alarmed English-speaking settlers, especially Protestant social reformers, who exaggerated their prevalence and drew rather one-sided and negative conclusions about Ukrainians in general. Finally, the persistence of peasant perceptions and behaviour patterns prompted some of the better-educated and articulate Ukrainian immigrants to turn to religious reform and political activity in an effort to help their less enlightened countrymen adapt to the new environment.

ENDNOTES

Chapter Two: Ukrainian Immigration to the Canadian Prairies

1. Figures and percentages have been rounded off. Calculated on the basis of *Census of Canada*, 1931, vol. I, tables 35 and 42, pp. 710-20, 788-95.

2. See Wallace Clement, "Socio-Economic Forces, Institutions and Elites in Canada's Development" [chapter 2] in *The Canadian Corporate Elite: An Analysis of Economic Power* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975); Donald Creighton, *The Empire of the St. Lawrence 1760-1850* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956); Tom Naylor "The Rise and Fall of the Third Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence" in Gary Teeple, ed., *Capitalism and the National Question in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 1-42; and Paul Phillips, "The National Policy and the development of the Western Canadian Labour Market" in A.W. Resporich, ed., *Prairie Perspectives II* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973), 41-62.

3. On the purchase of Rupertsland from the Hudson's Bay Company see John S. Galbraith, "The Hudson's Bay Land Controversy, 1863-69" *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* XXXVI (1949-50), 457-79, and "Land Policies of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1870-1913" *Canadian Historical Review* XXXIII (1951), 1-31. For the conquest of the Prairies and the dispossession of the Indian and Metis population see Harold Hickerson, "Fur Trade Colonialism and the North American Indians" *Journal of Ethnic Studies* I (1973), 15-44; E.P. Patterson, *The Canadian Indians: A History Since 1500* (Don Mills, Ont.: Collier-Macmillan, 1972); Arthur J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974); G.F.G. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961); and John L. Tobias. "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy" *The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* VI (2) (1976), 13-30; and J.L. Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of the Plains Cree, 1879-1885" *Canadian Historical Review* LXIV (4) (1983), 519-48.

4. The best study of Canadian immigration policy during this period is D.H. Avery, "Canadian Immigration Policy and the Alien Question, 1896-1919: The Anglo-Canadian Perspective." (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 1973).

5. Data on Ukrainians in Alberta based on Census of Canada, 1931, vol. II, table 33, pp. 464-82.

6. The Ukrainian bloc settlements were located in the following regions: Star (Alberta); Battleford, Prince Albert, Fish Creek, and Yorkton (Saskatchewan); Dauphin, Shoal Lake, Interlake, Stuartburn and Whitemouth (Manitoba). See the map in John C. Lehr, "The Process and Pattern of Ukrainian Rural Settlement in Western Canada, 1891-1914." (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1978), 207.

7. The ten coextensive municipalities with the highest number and proportion of Ukrainians in 1931 were:

Municipality	Total Population	Ukrainians	% Ukrainians
Sobor #514	3326	2841	85.42
Wostok #546	4584	3793	82.74
Ukraina #513	3245	2534	78.01
Smoky Lake #576	4268	3324	77.88
Vilna #575	3756	2880	76.68
Eagle #545	4100	2801	68.32
The Pines #516	3464	2322	67.03
Birch Lake #484	2312	1374	59.43
Norma #515	3201	1868	58.36
Leslie #547	3725	1867	50.12

Canada, Bureau of Statistics, Seventh Census of Canada 1931, vol. 2, Table 33, pp. 472-81.

8. Paul Phillips, "The National Policy", 41-62.

9. John Herd Thompson, The Harvests of War: The Prairie West 1914-1918 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978), 174.

10. Ibid.

11. The Canada Year Book 1922-23 (Ottawa: The King's Printer, 1924), 341, 368.

12. Donald J. Bercuson, "Labour Radicalism and the Western Industrial Frontier: 1897-1919" Canadian Historical Review LVIII (2) (1977), 169.

13. Paul Voisey, "The Urbanization of the Canadian Prairies, 1871-1916" Histoire Sociale/Social History VIII (1975), 87.

14. Thompson, Harvests of War, 174.

15. Chester Martin, "Dominion Lands" Policy 2nd ed. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973), 229.

16. Cited in H. Ross McCormack, *Reformers, Rebels and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement, 1899-1919* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 11.

17. See also Jacqueline Gresko, "White 'Rites' and Indian 'Rites': Indian Education and Native Responses in the West, 1870-1910" in A.W. Rasporich, ed., *Western Canada: Past and Present* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), 163-82.

18. See A.I. Silver, "French Canada and the Prairie Frontier, 1870-1890" *Canadian Historical Review* L (1) (1969), 11-36.

19. R.C. Brown and R. Cook, *Canada: 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), 76.

20. Donald Avery, *"Dangerous Foreigners": European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), 31.

21. Edmund W. Bradwin, *The Bunkhouse Man: A Study of Work and Pay in the Camps of Canada 1903-1914* 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 91-112.

22. G. Carriere, o.m.i., "The Early Efforts of the Oblate Missionaries in Western Canada," *Prairie Forum* IV (1) (1979), 1-25.

23. The quotations in the following three paragraphs are from the works of three Presbyterian clergymen, all very prominent missionaries and community leaders: George Bryce (1844-1931), founder of the University of Manitoba, moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, President of the Royal Society of Canada, etc.; Charles W. Gordon (1860-1937), Canada's most widely read author at the turn of the century (under the *nom de plume* of Ralph Connor); and Roderick MacBeth, author of numerous popular histories. For a complete list of the works see Orest T. Martynowych, "'Canadianizing the Foreigner': Presbyterian Missionaries and Ukrainian Immigrants" in J. Rozumnyj, ed. *New Soil--Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada* (Winnipeg: UAAS, 1983), 33-57 n. 12.

24. E.D. McLaren, "Our National Aspirations" *Empire Club Speeches: Being Addresses Before the Empire Club of Canada 1905-06* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1906), 136.

25. Roderick MacBeth, *Our Task in Canada* (Toronto, 1912), 20.

26. C.W. Gordon, "Romance and Reality in Home Missions", *The Missionary Review of the World* XV (11) (1902), 851-55.

27. E.D. McLaren, "The Perils of Immigration" *Presbyterian Record* (January, 1906), 11.

28. W. Bridgeman, "The Immigration Problem as it Affects Canadian Methodism" Vox Wesleyana, XII (3) (1907), 64.

29. C.W. Gordon, "Our Duty to the English Speaking and European Settlers" Canada's Missionary Congress 1909 (Toronto: Laymen's Missionary Movement, 1909), 106.

30. A.I. Silver, "Introduction" to For My Country, by Jules Paul Tardival (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), vii.

31. The basic study of church-state relations in late nineteenth century France is John McManners, Church and State in France, 1870-1914 (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1973). For a case study of French clericalism after 1870 see Judson Mather, "The Assumptionist Response to Secularization, 1870-1900" in Robert Bezucha, ed., Modern European Social History (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Co., 1972), 58-89.

32. The Ferry Laws outlawed religious training in the public schools and replaced it with civic education. Members of the Catholic orders were denied the right to teach in public schools. New public schools were built. And, a network of Normal Schools was established in which primary teachers and their professors were to be trained. See Gordon Wright, France in Modern Times, 3rd ed., (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1974), 242-47.

33. Ibid., 266-67. The Pope ordered Catholics to resist these laws and to refrain from participation in parish committees of laymen.

34. Silver, "Introduction," viii.

35. See Andre Siegfried, The Race Question in Canada. 2nd ed. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1966), 18-51.

36. Maurice Dupasquier, "Quelques aspects de l'oeuvre de Paul Benoit au Nouveau Monde, 1891-1915," and, Antoine Champagne, c.r.i.c., "La communaute des Chanoines reguliers de l'Immaculee Conception au Manitoba" both in Sessions d'etude de la Societe Canadienne d'Histoire de l'eglise Catholique XXXVII (1970), 111-144 and 229-245.

37. Richard Huel, "French-Speaking Bishops and the Cultural Mosaic in Western Canada" in Richard Allen, ed., Religion and Society in the Prairie West (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1974), 53-64; Robert Choquette, "Problemes des moeurs et de discipline ecclesiastique: Les catholiques des prairies canadiennes de 1900 a 1930" Histoire Sociale/Social History VIII (1975), 102-119.

38. Vladimir J. Kaye and Frances Swyripa, "Settlement and Colonization" in M.R. Lupul, ed., A Heritage in Transition (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), 37.

39. V.J. Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada. 1895-1900: Dr. Josef Oleskow's Role in the Settlement of the Canadian Northwest (Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1964).

40. Charles H. Young, The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1931), 46.

41. Ivan J. Tesla, "The Ukrainian Canadian in 1971" in O.W. Gerus et al, eds., The Jubilee Collection of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in Canada (Winnipeg: UVAN, 1976), 481-521.

42. See Donald Avery, "Dangerous Foreigners": European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), which is more enlightening on immigration policy than it is on immigrant labourers.

43. Howard Palmer, Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), 95.

44. See John C. Lehr, "Governmental Coercion in the Settlement of Ukrainian Immigrants in Western Canada" Prairie Forum VIII (2) (1983), 179-94, for a discussion of this debate.

45. John C. Lehr, "The Process and Pattern of Ukrainian Rural Settlement in Western Canada, 1891-1914" (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1978) and two of his articles in particular: "The Government and the Immigrant: Perspectives on Ukrainian Block Settlement in the Canadian West" Canadian Ethnic Studies IX (2) (1977), 42-52, and, "The Rural Settlement Behaviour of Ukrainian Pioneers in Western Canada, 1891-1914" in B. Barr, ed., Western Canadian Research in Geography (Vancouver: Tantalus Research, 1975), 51-66. The remainder of section 3.B. simply recapitulates Lehr's findings.

46. Lehr, "The Process and Pattern," 147.

47. Ibid., 287.

48. Ibid., 290.

49. Carl Betke, "Pioneers and Police on the Canadian Prairies 1885-1914" Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers (1980), 18.

50. Lehr, "The Process and Pattern," 274-77. Royick has pointed out that 120 families from the villages of Hadynkivtsi, Bila, Lankivtsi and Probizhna, all in the adjoining districts of Chortkiv and Borshchiv settled the land southeast of Lamont between 1900-10; 50 families from the village of Rusiv in Sniatyn settled in Hilliard during 1896-97; southeast of Edmonton, between Leduc there was a very heavy concentration of immigrants from the adjoining districts

of Peremyshl, Yaroslav and Mostyska; the Bonnyville region was settled by immigrants from Volhynia in 1928-30. "Ukrainian Settlements in Alberta" Canadian Slavonic Papers X (3) (1968), 278-97.

51. Joanna and Alexander Matejko, "Polish Pioneers in the Canadian Prairies" Ethnicity V (4) (1978), 351-69.

52. W.A. Mackintosh, Prairie Settlement: The Geographical Setting. Canadian Frontiers of Settlement. vol. 1. (Toronto: MacMillan, 1934), 19, 89-104.

53. William C. Wonders, "Far Corner of the Strange Empire: Central Alberta on the Eve of Homestead Settlement: Great Plains Quarterly III (2) (1983), 92-94.

54. John H. Warkentin, "Western Canada in 1886" Papers of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, series 3, XX (1965), 106.

55. J.G. MacGregor, Vilni Zemli (Free Lands): The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969), 27. The remainder of this section is based on MacGregor.

56. Between 1891 and 1894 14 German settlements were established in central Alberta: "... in 1891, at Hoffnungen, west of Leduc, and Rosenthal at Stony Plain, west of Edmonton; in 1892 at Wetaskiwin (a very large reservation); at Rabbit Hills, south of Edmonton; at Josephsburg, at the Beaver Hills, in the neighbourhood of Fort Saskatchewan, northeast of Edmonton; in 1893 at Leduc ...; in 1894, at Bruderfeld, on an abandoned Indian reservation south of Edmonton; at Bruderheim, in the neighbourhood of Fort Saskatchewan (both being of Russian Germans of the Moravian Brotherhood); at Egg Lake, north of Edmonton, and west of Morinville; at Beaver Lake, some 35 miles southeast of Edmonton; at Victoria some 40 miles northeast of Fort Saskatchewan in a very isolated position; finally one in the immediate neighbourhood of the railway west of Lacombe." Arthur S. Morton, History of Prairie Settlement. Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, part I, vol. 2. (Toronto: MacMillan, 1938), 98.

57. MacGregor, Vilni Zemli, 29, 58.

58. Ibid., 30, 51.

59. Ibid., 31.

60. Ibid., 30, 50, 152.

61. Ibid., 111, 154.

62. Ibid., 39, 50. Between 1892 and 1896 7 Scandinavian colonies were established in central Alberta: "In 1892 three colonies, Edna, at the present Lamont and about 14 miles east of Fort Saskatchewan; New Sweden (eight townships), east of Wetaskiwin; and at Olds on the railway. In 1893 a colony was placed at Swea, Swan Lake (now Cygnet Lake), about seven miles west of Red Deer. In 1894, a colony was established on tps. 50, 51, r. 19, w. 4. In 1895, Stony Plain, about 20 miles west of Edmonton, was settled. To these must be added an Icelandic colony (1891) about six miles south of Red Deer, and south of the Swedish colony on Swan Lake." Morton, 98.

63. Ibid., 160.

64. Ibid., 39, 53-57, 63.

65. Ibid., 72, 90-96, 151.

66. Ibid., 155-57, 160.

67. Ibid., 161.

68. Ibid., 183-84.

69. V.J. Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895-1900 (Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1964), 357-58, provides the following list of townships in east central Alberta:

Township	Ranges
46	17
47	15, 16
48	16
50	16
51	15, 16, 17
52	16, 17
53	13, 15, 16, 17, 18
54	13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19
55	13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21
56	13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21
57	14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21
58	15, 16, 17, 18, 23, 24
59	15, 17

70. MacGregor, 183.

71. Ibid., 216, 244.

72. Orest T. Martynowych, "Village Radicals and Peasant Immigrants: The Social Roots of Factionalism Among Ukrainian Immigrants in Canada, 1896-1918" (Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1978).

73. Petro Svarich, Spomyny, 1877-1904 (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1976), 97-102. For recent studies of village life in France and England see Eugen Weber, "Fairies and Hard Facts: The Reality of Folktales" Journal of the History of Ideas (1980-81), 93-113, and the books discussed in Lawrence Stone, "Interpersonal Violence in English Society, 1300-1980" Past & Present 101 (1983), 28.

74. George M. Foster, "Peasant Society and the Image of Limited Good" in J.M. Potter, M.N. Diaz and G.M. Foster, eds., Peasant Society: A Reader (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1967), 304.

75. Ibid., 311.

76. F.G. Friedmann, "The World of 'La Miseria'" in Peasant Society, 332.

77. All proverbs from V.S. Plaviuk, Prypovidky (Edmonton, 1946).

78. See for example Nestor Dmytriv, Kanadyiska Rus' (Mt. Carmel, Pa.: Svoboda, 1897) [1972 reprint, Winnipeg: UVAN].

79. Missionary Bulletin IX (1912-1913), 94.

80. Miriam Elston, "The Russian [sic] in Our Midst" The Westminster (June 1916), 535.

81. C.H. Young, The Ukrainian Canadians, 276.

82. Ievhenia Iaroshynska, "Iak vedesia nashym seliankam na Bukovyni kolo Vikna" Narod I (15 May 1890).

83. Edith A. Weeks, "Among the Russians [sic] in Northern Alberta" The Christian Guardian (25 September 1907), 8-9.

84. Missionary Bulletin IX (1912-1913), 94.

85. Robert B. Klymasz, Folk Narrative Among Ukrainian-Canadians in Western Canada (Ottawa: National Museum, 1973), 25.

86. M. Stechishin, "Stratyly navchytelia" Narodnyi kaliendar 'Ukrainska rodyna' (Winnipeg, 1915), 134-43.

87. Missionary Bulletin X (1913-1914), 790.

88. Missionary Bulletin I (1903-1904), 453.

89. In J.S. Woodsworth, "Ukrainian Rural Communities: Report of Investigation" (Unpublished paper, Winnipeg, Bureau of Social Research, Governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, 1917), 118.

90. NWMP Report _Sessional Papers_ (1911), XLV, p. 75.

91. _Missionary Bulletin_ XII (1915-1916), 691-92.

Chapter Three: The Ukrainian Farmstead in East Central Alberta

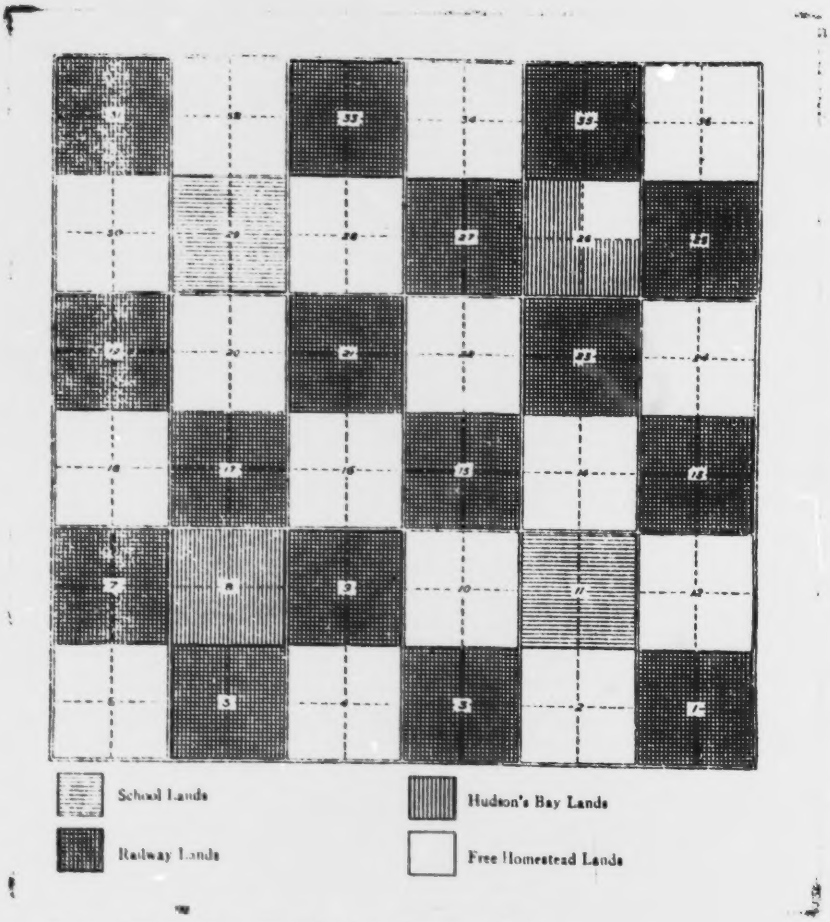
Chapter Three: The Ukrainian Farmstead in East Central Alberta

1. Introduction

The typical Ukrainian farmstead in east central Alberta passed through three phases between the 1890s and 1930. During the first phase the immigrant family lived in a temporary dug-out shelter called a _zemlianka_ or _burdei_. Most able bodied adult males spent the better part of the year working off the farm in order to acquire the capital necessary to set up a farming operation. Only enough land to satisfy the provisions of the Homestead Act was improved during this period. By 1905 or 1910 this phase had come to an end in most parts of east central Alberta. During the second phase, which usually commenced about five years after the settlers' arrival in Alberta, the men were ready to devote themselves full-time to farming. By this time a permanent dwelling--in most cases a two room clay-plastered log house with a thatched roof--had been constructed. Livestock holdings were expanded, more land was brought under cultivation, and a variety of specialized outbuildings were constructed. The entire family, including women and children, helped out with the farmwork, especially during spring seeding and at harvest time. Although some Ukrainian farmers were already producing grain for the market before the war, most did not make the transition to commercial wheat farming until after 1917-18, when the price of agricultural products skyrocketed as a result of war-time European demand. During this last phase, many Ukrainian farmers turned to wheat farming, buying up and renting additional land, purchasing sophisticated new implements and cautiously adopting new agricultural methods.

By 1929 the Ukrainian farmers of east central Alberta had become the envy of Ukrainians all across Canada. Their farms were prospering, many were building large two-storey North American style homes, and quite a few owned automobiles. Some had "bank deposits of $25,000 and $30,000. Quite a few [had] $50,000 deposits." One resident of the Vegreville district had even purchased a 5,500 acre ranch, 3000 acres of which were broken, for the princely sum of $75,000.[1] Yet these success stories, cited by contemporaries and historians, did not tell the whole story. In 1930 the average Ukrainian farmer in east central Alberta owned 5/8 and cropped 7/9 the land of the average Alberta farmer. He owned fewer horses and head of cattle, his livestock was of inferior quality, and his farm was worth about $1200 less than the average Alberta farm.

While Ukrainian farmers in the southeastern districts of the bloc settlement (Norma, Birch Lake) stood even with, or had outdistanced most Alberta farmers, those in the northwestern districts (Smoky Lake, Vilna) and the eastern districts (Sobor, Ukraina) were well behind the rest of the Alberta farming community. A number of factors contributed to this relative underdevelopment. Most Ukrainian settlers arrived in east central Alberta with little or no capital. As a result they could not settle down to full-time farming until they had earned the necessary capital. Once they turned to full-time farming they had to spend more time and energy clearing the wooded lands which they had frequently selected. The absence of good roads and the existence of but one railroad at the southern boundary of the bloc settlement prior to 1920 also prevented many of the farmers who had settled further north from expanding their operations and turning to commercial grain farming in earnest. Finally, peasant conservatism--the unwillingness to break with traditional time-tested methods--and the absence, prior to the 1920s, of any programme designed to disseminate new agricultural methods among Ukrainian farmers, also checked agricultural progress in the bloc settlement to a certain degree.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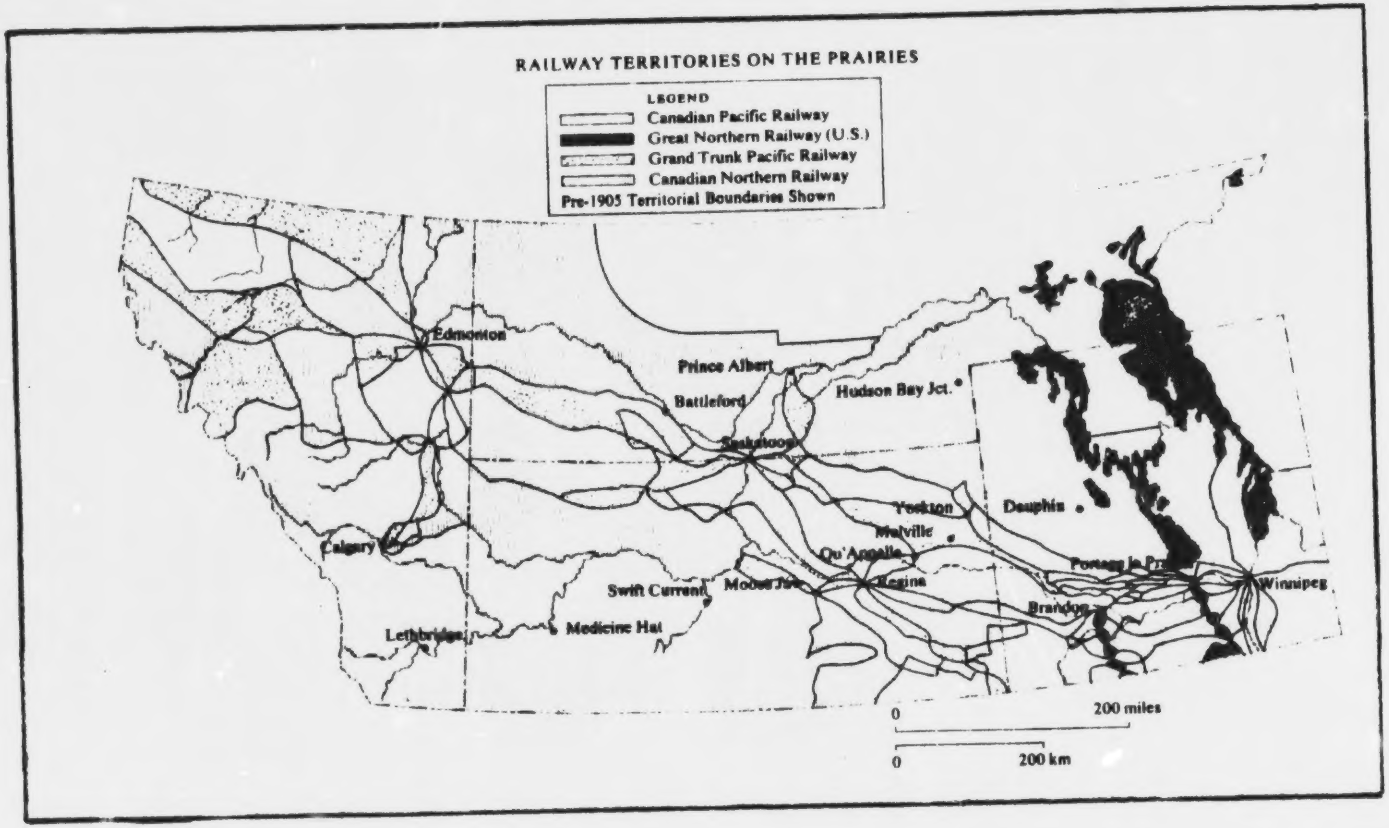
School Lands
Hudson's Bay Lands
Railway Lands
Free Homestead Lands

Map 12. The Prairie Township.

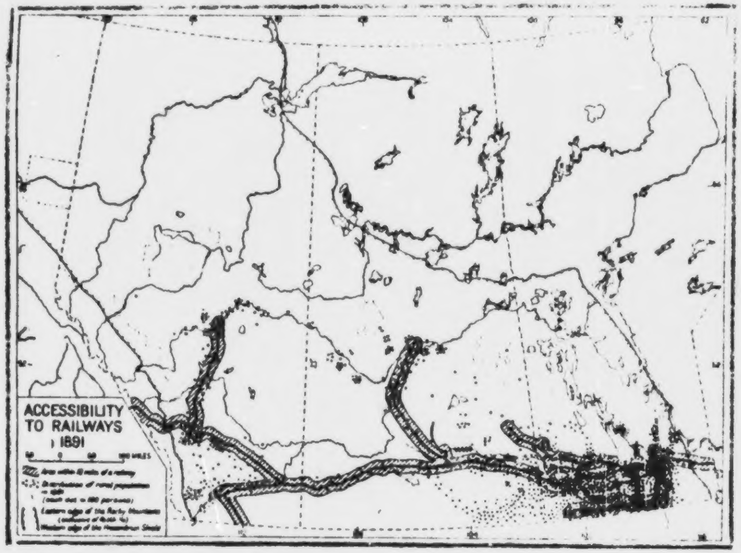
Key: 1.School lands (Sections 11 and 29). 2.Hudson's Bay lands (Sections 8 and three-quarters of 26; the whole of 26 in every fifth township). 3.Free Homestead lands (even-numbered sections, except 8 and 26). 4.Railway lands (odd-numbered sections except 11 and 29).

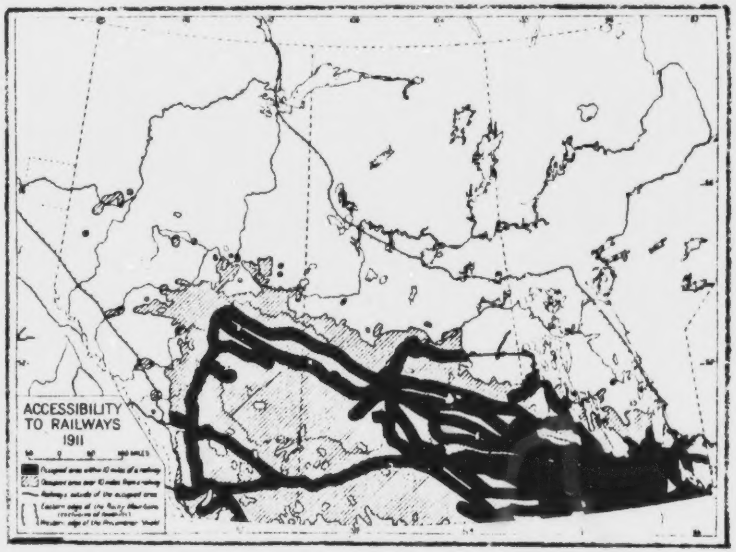
Taken from Chester Martin, "Dominion Lands" Policy. Canadian Frontiers of Settlement. vol. 2, part II. Toronto: MacMillan, 1938. Page 233.

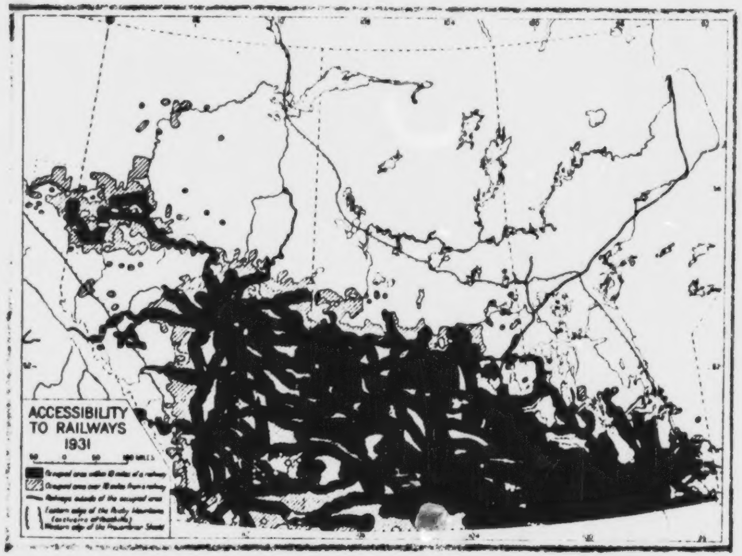

RAILWAY TERRITORIES ON THE PRAIRIES
LEGEND
Canadian Pacific Railway
Great Northern Railway (U.S.)
Grand Trunk Pacific Railway
Canadian Northern Railway
Pre-1905 Territorial Boundaries Shown
Edmonton
Prince Albert
Battleford
Hudson Bay Jct.
Saskatoon
Yorkton
Dauphin
Melville
Qu'Appelle
Portage la Pr.
Winnipeg
Regina
Moose Jaw
Swift Current
Brandon
Calgary
Medicine Hat
Lethbridge
0
200 miles
0
200 km

Map 13. Railway Territories on the Prairies.

Taken from T.D. Regehr, The Canadian Northern Railway: Pioneer Road of the Northern Prairies, 1895-1918. Toronto: MacMillan, 1976. Page 189.


ACCESSIBILITY
TO RAILWAYS
1891


ACCESSIBILITY
TO RAILWAYS
1911


ACCESSIBILITY
TO RAILWAYS
1931

Map 14. Accessibility to Railways, 1891--1911--1931.

Shaded area indicates settled lands within 10 miles of a railway.

Taken from W.A. Mackintosh, Prairie Settlement: The Geographical Setting. Canadian Frontiers of Settlement. vol. 1. Toronto: MacMillan, 1934. Pages 48, 50, 52.

2. The Pioneer Farm

Before he could seriously begin to farm, the new settler and his family had to acquire land, build a temporary shelter, and raise enough capital to purchase seed, livestock and implements, improve the land and fulfill the requirements of the Homestead Act. Depending on the family's wealth, the number and age of its males, and the nature of the terrain settled, this first phase could vary "from five years in the country of light timber and good soil to an indefinite time in other districts."[2] After building a temporary shelter and breaking a few acres of land with a walking plough the men spent most of the year working as railway navvies, miners and harvest labourers. Women and children sowed and harvested the field and garden crops and tended any livestock the family may have acquired. Sometimes they worked for established neighbours, stooking and hoeing in exchange for milk and garden produce.[3] Within a year or so the settler's family acquired a team of oxen, a cow, a few chickens and one or two pigs. Thereafter its food supply was assured. The pioneer phase ended when the man had acquired enough capital to settle down to full-time farming.

A. Land Selection

When they arrived in Alberta new settlers had the option of acquiring "free" homestead land from the Canadian government and/or buying additional land from the government, the railways or the Hudson's Bay Company. Where the land had been surveyed, it was divided into 36 square-mile townships. The townships were subdivided into mile-square sections, which in turn were divided into 160 acre quarter-sections. A little less than one half the acreage of a township was set aside as "free" homestead land. The homesteads were scattered throughout the township on even-numbered sections, with the exception of sections eight and 26, which had been allocated to the HBC. Odd-numbered sections, with the exception of sections 11 and 29 which had been reserved for schools, were the property of the CPR and the other land grant railways.

A "free" homestead of 160 acres could be acquired from the government for a $10 registration fee. The homsteader received title to his land after at least six months' residence for three consecutive years. The regulations also specified that 30 acres of wild prairie had to be brought under cultivation and a habitable house constructed before title could be granted. The homesteader was also encouraged to preempt an adjoining 160 acre quarter section. It was to be paid for within three years at $4 per acre.[4] If these terms seem generous, it should be borne in mind that of the 34,650,000 acres of land taken out in homesteads in Alberta between 1905 and 1927, more than 15,800,000 were cancelled.[5] About half the homesteaders could not fulfill the terms of the Homestead Act.

Railroad and HBC lands were more expensive. From 1890 to 1902 CPR land sold for less than $3.25 per acre. By 1908 the price had passed an average of $10 per acre. It reached $17.80 per acre in 1914 and $21.53 per acre in 1917. In east central Alberta most of the railroad lands belonged to the Canadian Northern Railway. The price of CNoR lands rose from $3.44 per acre in 1903 to $9.75 per acre in 1910 and $18.52 per acre in 1918.[6] Prior to 1906 the HBC sought to withhold as much of its land as possible from sale in anticipation of higher prices when the region became more populous and prosperous. The average price of HBC land was later calculated at $12.10 per acre.[7]

Many settlers from Ontario and the United States acquired additional quarter sections and railway lands at the same time they filed homestead applications. It was apparent to them that a profit could not be made on a 160 acre homestead. Ukrainian immigrants lacked the financial means and in most cases the foresight to purchase additional lands when they first arrived in Alberta. Official estimates indicate that the average American immigrant arrived with $800 to $1400, although it was not unusual for some to arrive with four, five or even $10,000 in cash and equipment. On the other hand, the 1917 Woodsworth survey of Ukrainian rural communities revealed that 50 per cent of Ukrainian immigrants arrived in Western Canada with no capital whatsoever and 42 per cent arrived with less than $500. Of 433 families surveyed in east central Alberta (about 400 of them Ukrainian), 185 had no money, 70 had $1 to $100, 46 had $1 to $500, 115 had over $100 and 17 had over $500.[8] Similarly, while all English-speaking settlers hoped to establish commercially viable farming operations, most Ukrainian settlers, as we have seen in Chapter 2, expected to continue practicing semi-subsistence peasant agriculture in Canada. In the Old Country the average peasant farm had fewer than three hectares (7 1/2 acres) of land. As a result, the typical Ukrainian settler assumed that 160 acres would be more than enough for his family.

As Andrij Nahachewsky has pointed out, three factors--money, contacts and time of arrival--determined the ease with which the immigrants adjusted to the life of homesteaders.[9] Money allowed the immigrant family to subsist from the time of their arrival until their first small crop was harvested. A contact--a friend or a relative who had emigrated earlier--could orient the new arrivals, recommend a neighbouring quarter-section for claim, and offer food and shelter for the first winter. Finally, by arriving in the early spring the settlers would have enough time to plant a few potatoes and sow some grain. Those who arrived in the autumn or winter could not find work and spent most of their money (if they had any) just living through the winter.

Ukrainians who settled in east central Alberta were brought by train to Strathcona, the most important colonization centre in Western Canada next to Winnipeg. From Strathcona the journey to the homestead was rarely direct. Many of the immigrants had to wait for some time before they were settled. Women and children were usually left in the Immigration Building in Strathcona or at the home of an established farmer, while the men went out to find a suitable homestead. The men travelled alone, in groups or with an immigration agent.

Illiterate peasants who knew no English were confronted with many technical difficulties in selecting a homestead. "It was essential to know which lands belonged to the Crown, which to the HBC, which to the railways and which lands were designated as homesteads. Of those lands for settlement, an immigrant needed to be told which had already been claimed, and which were still vacant."[10] Eventually certain local farmers, English-speaking and Ukrainians, acquired a reputation for being able to "read" the marks on the survey posts. They were approached by disoriented newcomers and helped the latter to find vacant land.

When a homestead had been selected, the rest of the family followed. Immigrants walked, floated down the North Saskatchewan River on rafts, or travelled by ox- or horse-drawn wagon. The last mode of transportation was the most popular. If a wagon was not provided by friends or relatives one could be hired from a private entrepreneur or the government.

B. The Temporary Dug-Out Dwelling[11]

Whether they were rich or poor, most Ukrainian immigrant families spent their first two, three or even more years in east central Alberta in a temporary dug-out dwelling most frequently referred to as a burdei or zemlianka. This type of dwelling, which was most common in east central Alberta prior to 1905, reflected a degree of continuity with traditional forms found in Ukrainian folk architecture. From the earliest times right up to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries dug-out dewellings had been used in specific contexts: "in isolated areas; as temporary shelters; and by the impoverished." During the nineteenth century industrialization and capitalism uprooted and impoverished many peasants. Consequently zemlianky were constructed by peasant seasonal workers engaged in the extraction of oil and mineral wax in the Drohobych-Boryslav region; by proletarians on the outskirts of Lviv; by shepherds, lumberjacks and raftsmen in the Carpathians; and by poor peasants who could not obtain enough wood to build a more elaborate house. In Western Canada thousands of immigrants found themselves unsettled, poor and isolated. They responded by constructing zemlianky.

The most characteristic type of burdei or zemlianka was the slanted-roof pit-house. It consisted of an inverted "V"-roof framework atop a rectangular pit (usually 10 by 14 feet) dug .75 to 1.25 metres deep. The frame consisted of two vertical poplar posts and a longer horizontal cross-bar suspended about two metres above the interior floor. Thinner poplar rails were leaned from beyond both sides of the pit onto the cross-bar. A layer of tall prairie grass was spread over the roof rails, the base of the structure was fortified with earth and clay, and the roof was covered with a layer of sod placed grass upwards. A door of rough boards was located in the south gable to one side of the central post. The remainder of the south gable as well as the entire north gable were filled with a row of vertical poles and coated with several layers of mud plaster on the interior and the exterior. Small windows were usually placed in the north and south gables.

Inside, the floor and wall surfaces consisted of earth and clay. They were usually packed down firmly to produce a smooth, clean surface. The burdei was heated by a clay stove near the door or in the northern corner of the structure. A metal top surface, stove door and a chimney which passed through the roof were usually bought and added to the stove. Furniture consisted of a home-made rail bed covered by a layer of straw, a sheet and a woven blanket; a table made of rails and boards, wooden benches, tree stump seats, and a large wooden trunk in which fine clothing, valuables and documents were kept. Small tools and implements were usually stored in the corner of the burdei nearest the door. Ploughs and yokes were kept outside near the animal shelter.

The burdei was usually built at the edge of a wooded area, not far from the boundary of the property and near a spring or creek if possible. Where they existed, hillside locations were preferred since it was easier to excavate a zemlianka on an incline. The terrain surrounding the structure was cleared of trees and brush, and firewood was piled nearby. A fire, used for cooking, burned in a pit a few metres from the structure during the summer. A vegetable garden was cleared and planted and a corral of woven sticks was made for the cow. If the family was wealthier and had already purchased more livestock a barn (stainia) was constructed for the animals. An acre or two of prairie was ploughed and seeded, a pit was dug for the garbage, and a well from which water was drawn up with a pail tied to a rope was excavated. Finally, a site was selected and cleared for a permanent house. Trees were felled, cleaned and hauled to the site.

A great deal of the work on the farmstead during this period was performed by the women and children since the adult males were away most of the time. Women and children frequently ploughed and cultivated an acre of land and then harvested the crops by hand, cutting, threshing and bagging the wheat, stacking the straw and cutting hay to provide fodder for the cow and oxen. They also planted and looked after the garden--"the most distinguishing characteristic of Ukrainian farming."[12] The potatoes, lentils, cabbages, beets, onions, garlic, carrots, turnips, parsnips and corn grown in the gardens provided most families with their basic subsistence and enabled Ukrainian settlers to survive and prosper where others often failed. The grain that was produced during this period was consumed by the family and its livestock.

C. Off-Farm Work

Ankli and Litt have recently estimated that at least $975 was required to establish a farming operation at the turn of the century in Western Canada.[13] A substantial farm would require an outlay of up to $3,140. The minimum capital requirements were as follows:

Table 2. The Cost of Farm-making c. 1900

Shelter		$200 - 300
Barn		100
Stove		40
Provisions		100 - 200
Well		100 - 200
Implements		50 - 100
Breaking plough	$ 14 - 27	
Harrow	17 - 25	
Cutter	30	
Binder	100	
Mower	50	
Rake	20	
Livestock		$235
Yoke of oxen	$200	
1 horse	75 - 100	
Milk cow	35	
Steer	19 - 25	
Pig	6	
Sheep	5	
Breaking sod (50 acres at $1-3 per acre)		50 - 150
Seeding (50 acres at $1 wheat seed per acre)		50
Fencing (10 acres)		30
Transportation		20
Red River cart	$ 20	
Sleigh	30	
Buggy	60	
TOTAL		$975 - 1,425

While Ukrainian peasant immigrants may have managed on slightly less, most would still have been at least seven or eight hundred dollars short. Even those who had brought flails, scythes, axes, sieves, spades and querns, required a pair of oxen, a plough, harrows and some seed grain to start farming, and a cow, wagon and horses shortly thereafter. Most Ukrainian settlers dug their well by hand with a shovel, but the expense of building a permanent home or barn could not be avoided. Consequently, all but the wealthiest male immigrants, or those with single adult sons, spent at least a few years doing off-farm work.

Normally the undercapitalized newcomer had three alternative ways to earn the cash he needed: harvest labour, work on railway construction, and mining. If these jobs were unavailable he could seek employment in lumber camps, do odd jobs in the city, dig ditches or clear bush. Here the discussion will be limited to the three major forms of off-farm work.

Harvest labour At the turn of the century inexperienced harvesters earned $10 to $15 per month with board and room in Western Canada.[14] Experienced farm labourers could earn $20 to $35 per month with board and lodging. Wages were highest between 1917 and 1920 because of labour shortages caused by war-time conscription and bountiful harvests.

As John Herd Thompson has noted, harvest wages were highest in Alberta, especially in the prairie districts rather than in the northerly parkbelt.[15] Harvesters worked by the day, receiving wages only for days on which they actually worked. Rates paid for threshing were higher than those paid for the unskilled job of stooking. Between 1901 and 1920 the average harvester earned anywhere from $79 (1901) to $240 (1920) for two months labour. Most harvesters performed the "back breaking and mind numbing" task of stooking. Stooking consisted of gathering eight or ten sheaves dropped by a horse drawn self-binding reaper and piling them into stooks--piles "designed to protect the grain from weather damage until it became ripe enough to thresh." The harvester worked from dawn to dusk, racing after the binder, bending, lifting and piling up stooks. When the crop had been cut, stooked and dried it was threshed. This operation required a smaller number of men. The work was usually done by experienced local farmers and their sons. Inexperienced men could work as "field pitchers" forking sheaves from stooks to wagons. Although threshing was less onerous and paid more since the threshing day was longer, it was also more dangerous. Boiler explosions and clothing entangled in grain separators could cause deaths and dismemberment. Yet, there was much to be said for this type of work. It was while working for the better-off English farmers and ranchers that "Ukrainian immigrants learned the English language and their farming and trading methods. The first and most practical lesson was the operation of farm machinery."[16]

Railroad construction   Between 1900 and 1918 over 20,000 miles of railways were laid down in Canada. In Alberta alone 4,657 miles were built between 1900 and 1930.[17] Working conditions on the railroads were deplorable. In 1912 a foreign consul, with personal knowledge of conditions in Europe and South America, stated that he knew "of no other country where the rights of workmen have been so flagrantly abused as on railway construction in Canada."[18] According to official statistics, 3,667 employees were killed on railroad construction and another 41,272 were injured, between 1901 and 1918 in Canada.[19] Throughout these years most issues of Ukrainian-Canadian newspapers carried news items about Ukrainian immigrants who had been killed on railroad construction.

Those who worked as navvies had to endure intolerable working conditions and irregular, exploitative wages. The average working day lasted 10 to 12 hours at 15¢ to 20¢ an hour, although it was not unusual for navvies to work 16, 18 and even 20 hours a day when a contract had to be completed.[20] Most navvies earned $1.75 to $2 daily, except when inclement weather prevented work. In the summer their diet could consist of little more than half raw, inedible bread, beans and hard cheese since their meat supply frequently rotted while in transit or storage. It should also be noted that $4.50 was deducted weekly for food and lodging and an additional $1.25 was deducted monthly for medical services which were rarely provided. When one considers that most navvies were already indebted before they started working, as a result of advances given to them for transportation fare to the construction site and for the purchase of proper clothing and equipment, it becomes obvious that even after three or four months of work many navvies were left with almost no net wages. After nine months of work and travel in search of work, many navvies had less than $200 to show for their efforts.

Ukrainian settlers performed a variety of tasks on railroad construction. They were "put to work removing old ties from the railroad and replacing them with new ones. In a day's work a man was expected to replace 20 ties and nail the rails down with four spikes on each end of the new tie."[21] They worked in city railroad yards changing rails to a heavier gauge or helping to level the yards and lay tracks. They helped expand mountain tunnels by hauling and dumping gravel, they formed advance parties clearing bush for wagon trails, and they worked with shovels, grub-hoes and barrows building road-beds on which track was to be laid.[22]

Mining Unlike seasonal labour on railroad construction, mining could be a permanent year-round occupation. Between 1911 and 1916 Alberta coal mines boosted production from 1,700,000 tons to 4,700,000 tons per annum[23]. Almost 50 per cent of the men employed in mining were "foreigners" and they were especially numerous in the Crowsnest Pass District. Ukrainians made up a sizeable proportion of the Slavic mining population which constituted 11 per cent of the Canadian mining force in 1914. In Alberta Slavs represented 17.5 to 36 per cent of the mining force depending upon the region.[24] Ukrainians were concentrated in Canmore, Hillcrest and Lethbridge, Alberta, and Hosmer, Fernie and Mitchell, B.C., as well as in Ontario and Quebec.

Wages were higher than those on railroad construction but as more "foreigners" were recruited, management took an increasingly callous approach to safety precautions and regulations. Between 1905 and August 1914, in Alberta alone, 375 miners perished, most of them in the Crowsnest Pass.[25] Ukrainian miners were among those killed in mining disasters in Coalhurst and Bellevue. In June 1914, 30 Ukrainian miners were among the 190 casualties of the Hillcrest mining disaster.[26] Most miners grossed up to $100 monthly. In 1915 wages in Cardiff, Alberta were $3.25 for an eight hour day.[27] Contract workers were earning from $80 to $120 every two weeks at Frank, Alberta.[28] However, after deductions for food, lodging and equipment, most were left with lower net earnings. Gambling and drinking could also cut into a miner's earnings.

3. The Transitional Farm

After a few years of seasonal labour most male immigrants were in a position to settle down to full-time farming. By this juncture they had earned enough money to buy a team of oxen or a pair of horses, a few cows, and in many instances some pigs and poultry. They had also bought a cart, a plough, a harrow and perhaps a binder. If they had not yet constructed a permanent log house and a barn, and improved 30 acres of land, they were in the process of doing so in order to secure title to their homestead. During the next decade or so they would complete and/or improve the permanent home; erect a variety of specialized outbuildings; add to their livestock holdings; clear and improve more land; and expand into grain farming, although only a minority would graduate to commercial wheat farming. Nevertheless, by Old Country village standards they had become substantial farmers.

A. The First Permanent Home

According to the Woodsworth survey, 10 per cent of 937 Ukrainian families lived in one room and 56 per cent lived in two room clay-plastered log houses with a thatched or shingled roof in 1917. In the Mundare, Chipman and Lamont districts which were included in the survey, about 80 per cent of the homes fell into this category although some may have been more spacious. Throughout this period and during the 1920s, the clay-plastered log house was the prevailing type of housing in Ukrainian settlements all across Western Canada.[29]

Although some settlers replaced their temporary dug-out dwelling with a one room + hallway log house before constructing a rectangular, single storey, two room + central hallway, clay-plaster log house, most seem to have made the transition directly. The construction of this type of dwelling, one of the most desirable forms of Ukrainian peasant housing in Galicia and Bukovyna at the turn of the century, would have been evidence of prosperity in the Old Country and marked the realization of a long cherished dream.

All the materials required to construct this type of dwelling were available to the settler in east central Alberta: logs, clay, straw, and lime.[30] Pine or spruce logs were preferred but poplar was commonly utilized in their absence despite its inferior quality. An axe, saw and auger were the only essential tools. Nails were not essential but they were used if available.

The walls of the dwelling were built of logs laid horizontally and joined at the corners by saddle notching or dovetailing. To add rigidity to the walls holes were augered through every two or three logs as they were added, and they were pinned together with wooden pegs. The walls, especially the corners of the house, rested upon a rock foundation which slowed the deterioration of the bottom layer of logs. Doors and windows were cut as the logs were being piled up. The doors, interior and exterior, were about three feet by six feet. The outer door usually faced south and led into a hallway or into a kitchen-living room. There were usually three windows along the front facade--two to the east of the door, one to the west--and one might be located in the western part of the north wall to allow those in the kitchen-living room to see the farmyard.

Most of the houses had dirt floors at first. When they had been packed down and smoothed over with clay the floors became glossy. This condition was maintained by washing the floors with a solution of cow-dung and water (himniak). Within a few years wooden floors were installed in most homes, especially in the room reserved for special occasions.

The walls of the house were coated inside and out with a layer of clay-plaster. The plaster was made of clay and water, mixed in a pit, and tramped with the feet or by leading horses or oxen through the pit. Chopped straw was later mixed in. The walls were coated with this mixture and smoothed over. A second coat of sand and clay was then applied. When they had dried, the walls were coated with a solution of lime and water which protected the plaster from the erosive effects of rain, kept out crawling insects and improved the insulation. Bilash has observed that occasionally new materials were used to construct the dwelling. Since the clay plaster finish required a great deal of maintenance "siding and finishing boards were often added to the exterior and interior walls" or shingles were used on the exterior walls.[31]

A unique feature of the Ukrainian house was the addition of a clay embankment (pryzba) at the base of the exterior walls. Clay "was piled against the side of the house and packed solidly to a height of approximately six inches . . . The pryzba slanted downwards away from the house to a distance of approximately two feet."[32] The pryzba shed rainwater away from the house thereby preventing the log walls from rotting. It also served as insulation.

Roof styles varied widely. Both gable and hipped gable roofs were common. The Bukovynian house frequently had a four sided (hipped gable) roof with wide overlapping eaves that were especially pronounced along the southern facade and extended over the pryzba to provide shade. Sod roofing might be used as a temporary measure but thatch was preferred. When rye straw, traditionally used in thatching, was unavailable slough grass was used. Thatched roofs were high pitched in order to shed water rapidly. Since wood was readily available in east central Alberta, wood shingles, which did not require much maintenance after installation, were popular from the outset. Bilash has pointed out that the adoption of shingles was accelerated by several successive dry summers at the end of WW I. Since animal feed became scarce "many thatched roofs were dismantled and recycled as feed. An immediate solution to re-roofing these homes was found in shingles."[33]

Lehr has suggested that the typical house was about 26 by 12 to 30 by 17 feet in size. He also suggests that the Bukovynian house was larger and more flamboyant than the sober utilitarian homes of the Galicians although there seems to be disagreement on this point.[34]

The house was usually subdivided into two rooms and a hallway although some Galician houses simply consisted of two rooms. The western section of the dwelling consisted of a kitchen-living room (mala khata).

The eastern section consisted of a room reserved for special occasions (*velyka khata*). A narrow entrance hall (*siny*, *khoromy*) separated the two rooms from one another. The *mala khata* "was a place for living, cooking, washing, eating and sleeping."[35] During the early years this room was dominated by a large clay stove (*pich*) which was used for heating and cooking. Because it took up a great deal of space it was often replaced by a store-bought iron stove within a few years. Whether an iron stove was brought in to heat the home or not, another *pich* was constructed outside in the yard or a small summer house was built to accommodate the *pich*. It was common for an outdoor *pich* to be used in conjunction with an indoor *pich* which was usually used for baking bread. At first smoke was discharged above the ceiling through vents or by a short pipe and allowed to filter out through the thatched roof. Sometimes smoke was simply allowed to drift into the ceilingless hallway whence it escaped through the thatched roof or vents. After a few years metal stove-pipe chimneys appeared.

The *mala khata* was furnished with a large bed, a table, chairs and/or benches, shelves and a trunk. The *siny* served as a vestibule and storage space. When storage space became available in newly constructed outbuildings, the *siny* lost their traditional function. Sometimes they were eliminated altogether and the *mala khata* expanded by knocking down the partitioning wall. The *velyka khata* was reserved for formal occasions and the accommodation of guests. Large families may have used it as a bedroom and it also served as a bedroom for married children who lived with their parents. Icons, religious calendars and family photos were hung on the eastern wall. The *velyka khata* was usually furnished with a bed, table, benches, trunk, heater and closet. A number of Ukrainian post masters used their *velyka khata* as a post office.

B. The Farmyard[36]

To a certain degree, the main features of Galician and Bukovynian village farmyards were reproduced on the homesteads of east central Alberta during the early years. Although they were no longer as tightly clustered as they had been in the Old Country, the first yards of Ukrainian settlers were fairly compact. The front of the house was usually oriented toward the south, while the out-buildings, located on the perimeter of the yard, were oriented around the house. Northwesterly winds reinforced the tradition of constructing dwellings with a southern facade in Western Canada. As in Ukraine gardens were located on the periphery of the farmyard.

Nevertheless, there were differences in the layout of the farmyards and they became more pronounced with the passing of time. Because settlement preceded the construction of roads, because it was easier to establish the farmyard on cleared land, and because ready access to water was a major consideration, houses and outbuildings in east central Alberta were not always located close to the road as they had been in Ukraine. Furthermore, when a second home was built near the road, new buildings were erected next to the old ones creating a pattern "where the house became increasingly isolated from the outbuildings."[37] The availability of land and the acquisition of vehicles and machines which could not be maneuvered in tight compact yards, also contributed to the expanding size of the farmyard.

In Galicia and Bukovyna it was not uncommon for poor peasants to store crop yields and implements in the hallway or storage room of their dwellings. Animals were housed in lean-to outbuildings attached to the peasant's home. Where livestock was more numerous it was housed in a separate partitioned structure. Only wealthier peasants had separate specialized structures such as granaries, stables, barns, pig pens, chicken coops, etc. There were "three basic functional groups of out-buildings": animal shelters, crop storage and implement shelters. All three groups appeared in east central Alberta.

The animal shelter was usually the first out-building to be completed. It was built shortly after the completion of the first permanent home. A flat or gable roofed log structure, it united the functions of cow barn, horse stable, granary and wagon shed under one roof. As livestock holdings expanded, separate structures were constructed for horses and cows. Unlike the Canadian barn, which "combined both a storage function and a shelter function within a single-roomed, one and one-half storey structure,"[38] the Ukrainian "low stable" (stainia) only sheltered livestock. A few stodoly were also built in east central Alberta during the early years. These were structures for storing hay, unthreshed crops and straw, which were equipped with flailing floors and were large enough to accommodate a wagon filled with sheaves. As Bilash has pointed out, the adoption of North American-style barns "with gambrel roofs (uncharacteristic of Ukrainian architecture) which allowed for the storage of hay in the upper loft area eventually made [stodyly] redundant."[39] The increasing popularity of threshing machines, which eliminated the need for a flailing floor, had the same effect.

Small animals such as pigs and chickens were originally kept in crude, seasonal shelters. Later, log pig and poultry houses chinked with plaster, covered with shingled roofs, and with floors of hewn logs were constructed. Rail fence enclosures surrounded these structures.

Granaries were not needed during the first years of homesteading. Grain was kept in sacks or in storage boxes in the storage hallway of the settler's dwelling. Later a small lean-to added to the house was large enough to store grain. However when improved acreage expanded and crop yields began to increase, granaries were constructed. Like the Old Country komora they were almost square or somewhat elongated "log structures raised above the ground [and] . . . always constructed with floors."[40] They were covered with shingled gable roofs and plastered on the inside to prevent the grain from leaking out.

The last out-building to appear was the implement, vehicle or machine shed. It was built only after the other structures had been erected. At first machine sheds were lean-to additions to existing structures. However as more machinery was acquired separate structures had to be built. Usually they were little more than earthen-floor log frames "sheathed in boards on three walls and with an ample roof to provide protection from blowing rain or snow."[41]

C. Farm Work

In Galicia and Bukovyna little more than a light plough, wooden steel-spiked harrow, hoe and shovel had been used to till and cultivate the land. Grain was sown by hand, cut with a scythe and threshed with flails in small quantities. There were no seeders, mowers, binders and threshing machines.

During the early years in Canada, when the settlers still relied on oxen, farming methods did not differ appreciably from those in the Old Country, although better quality ploughs and harrows had been purchased. The fields were ploughed with a walking plough. The farmer walked behind the plough firmly gripping the handle bars as the oxen or horses pulled it along. By 1914 many settlers were replacing their walking ploughs with riding ploughs--single bladed sulky ploughs and double bladed gang ploughs that had a seat for the farmer and were pulled by horses or tractors.

Once it had been ploughed the field had to be disked or harrowed. Harrowing broke up clods, destroyed weeds and smoothed and pulverized the soil surface thereby enabling the soil to retain moisture. Prior to 1910 seeding was done by hand on most farms. The farmer walked about the field broadcasting handfuls of grain which he took out of a bag tied to his waist. Then the field was quickly harrowed again to cover the kernels and prevent birds from picking them up. By 1914 many farmers owned seeders.

The busiest time of the year was at harvest-time. Harvesting involved cutting and gathering the crops, stooking and storing them, and eventually threshing the grain. At first most settlers harvested and threshed their crops by hand. They used a scytne to do the cutting. Sometimes the scythe "was fitted with a fork-like wooden device [cradle] which kept the cut grain from falling on the ground. When enough grain was cut for a sheaf it was removed from the [cradle] and tied with a length of twisted straw."[42] Women usually tied the sheaves and stacked them in stooks so that they might dry. By 1910 scythes were being laid aside as Ukrainian farmers began to purchase binders. The binder not only cut the grain but it also tied it into sheaves. The most widely used binders had an eight foot cut and were said to reduce "the number of labour hours required to produce a bushel of wheat from three hours to ten minutes and vastly improved the quality of the product."[43]

Because there were very few threshing outfits in the early days, settlers had to wait their turn, sometimes until late in the winter. Wheat needed for immediate consumption was threshed in the traditional fashion with a flail. A sheaf was untied and spread out on a floor surface and then beaten with the flail until all the grain had been knocked loose from its husk. The threshed grain was then winnowed by being thrown against the wind or by using a sieve. In both cases the chaff would be separated from the grain. Steam threshing machines appeared in east central Alberta shortly after 1900. The owner(s) would usually thresh grain for his neighbours. In the Lanuke district it cost $10 to have 100 bushels of grain threshed in 1909.[44] As many as 12 to 20 men were required to operate the outfit, including a formally qualified steam engine operator who was in charge of the operation. A number of Ukrainian settlers usually pooled their resources to purchase a threshing outfit. After threshing their crop they would do custom work for their neighbours.

Farm work did not stop once the crop had been harvested. During the fall and winter land was cleared, shoes were mended and harnesses repaired. Every morning the livestock had to be let out of the barn, fed and watered. Trees were cut down, trimmed and shaped into building logs. A plentiful supply of firewood had to be kept on hand at all times.[45]

The division of labour between men and women was not as strictly observed as it had been in Ukraine. In the Old Country ploughing, harrowing and seeding had always been men's work. In Canada, especially during the early years when men were away working as seasonal labourers, it was not unusual to see women ploughing, harrowing and seeding, albeit only an acre or two. During the harvest women had traditionally performed the backbreaking task of stooking. In Canada, according to Swystun, they spent more time in the fields than they had in Galicia and

Bukovyna, where the landholdings were smaller and the harvests correspondingly less bountiful.[46] Threshing with the flail and winnowing were men's work; grain grinding with a quern (zhorna) was women's work. Women also looked after the vegetable garden, milked the cows and fed the pigs and cattle. Men fed and looked after the horses.[47] Making and washing clothes were also women's work. The former task soon disappeared in Canada where men and schoolchildren were under pressure to conform to North American dress codes while the heavy emphasis on developing a homestead and producing cash crops relegated the craft of weaving to a leisure occupation.[48]

Young concluded that the most "distinctive feature of labour on the Ukrainian farm [was] the woman's share in it" and that "the average Ukrainian woman often contributed more to the work of the farm than does the average hired man."[49] The following passage from Young summarizes a woman's workday in the summer:

> She gets up between four and five in the morning and goes to bed at eleven at night. When she gets up she does the chores outside, feeds the cattle and milks the cows. She then prepares breakfast and washes the dishes, after which she follows the family to the field where she may hoe or drive a gang-plow, stook, etc. She comes in shortly before dinner, prepares it and cleans up, a matter of one and one half or two hours, then returns to the field until eight o'clock when she milks, after which she gets supper. This is a man's share in any other community.[50]

Women's labour went far to explain the undeniable progress made by Ukrainian peasant immigrants in east central Alberta.

D. Agricultural Growth

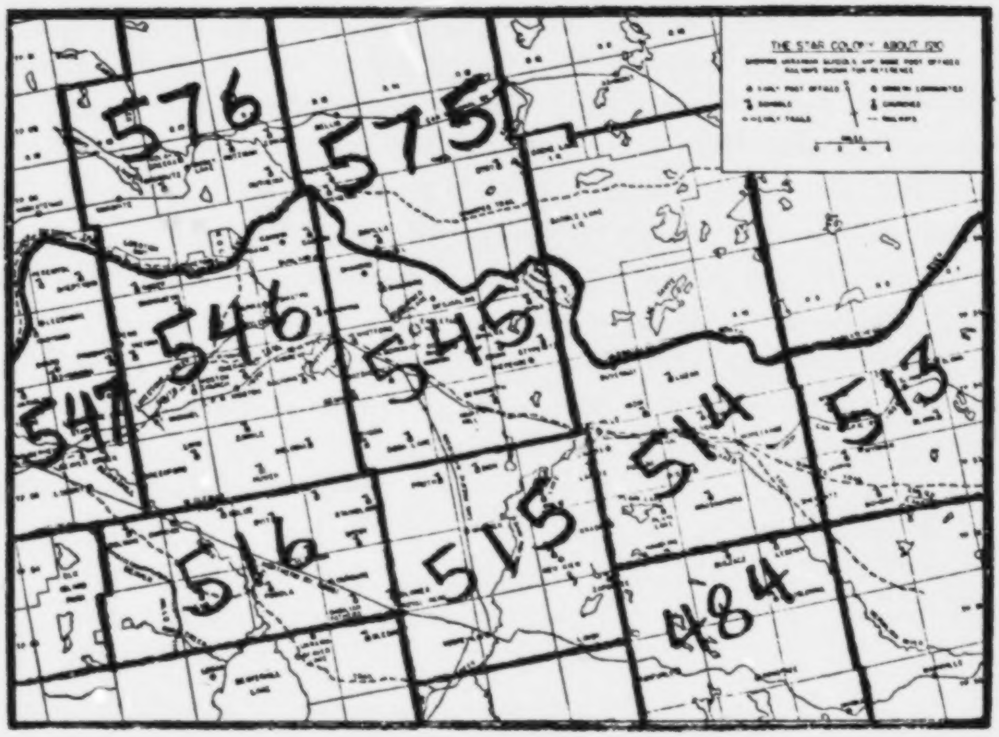
By 1914 many Ukrainian farmers in east central Alberta were ready to expand into commercial grain farming. They had replaced their oxen with horses, expanded their livestock holdings, and equipped themselves with mowers, seeders and binders. Many were co-owners of steam threshers. Gambrel roofed log barns, six by nine metres in size were replacing the traditional "low stable" and a variety of specialized outbuildings were springing up on Ukrainian homesteads. Non-Ukrainian observers stated that "remarkable material progress"[51] was being made. Settlers who owned five or six quarter sections, comfortable North American-style homes, stables, herds of hogs and cattle, and a stock of superior horses were mentioned in government reports. Some had already earned $3000 from the sale of a single grain crop while others had threshed 13,000 bushels of grain in one season.

Measured by the standards of the prevailing market economy Ukrainian farmers were making "progress", but this "progress" was uneven and more apparent in some districts than in others. Overall Ukrainian farmers in east central Alberta were still well behind the rest of the Alberta farming community. Table 3 compares the average farm in ten predominantly Ukrainian Local Improvement Districts with the average farm in the province of Alberta as a whole in 1916:

Table 3. Land, Field Crops, Livestock, 1916: Average Per Farm[52]

	Size (acres)	Improved (acres)	Wheat (acres)	Oats (acres)	Horses	Cattle	Swine
10 Ukrainian Districts	193.01	52.63	14.21	24.01	5.11	12.42	11.57
Alberta	339.27	110.48	38.05	31.25	9.53	17.34	8.93

In 1916 farms in the Ukrainian bloc settlement were about 1/2 the size of the average Alberta farm and their improved acreage was less than 1/2 the provincial average. Wheat, the principal cash crop which constituted 47 per cent of the field crop acreage in Alberta represented only 30 per cent of the field crop acreage in the bloc settlement. Moreover, the average farmer in the bloc settlement had sown only 14 acres of wheat, about 2/5 the amount sown with wheat on most Alberta farms. He had 1/2 the horsepower and about 2/3 the cattle owned by the average Alberta farmer. Although his horses were generally well taken care of, the


THE STAR COLONY ABOUT 1910
576
575
546
545
547
513
514
515
516
484

Map 15. The Municipal Districts of East Central Alberta.

Taken from James G. MacGregor, Vilni Zemli (Free Lands): The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969. Page 215.

Ukrainian farmer paid scant attention to the rest of his livestock. Only swine herds were larger in the bloc settlement than they were elsewhere in Alberta. This was due to cultural and economic factors. In Galicia and Bukovyna Ukrainian peasants had traditionally resorted to raising hogs, cattle and poultry as cash crops. In Canada they saw hog-raising as the quickest, easiest and most profitable way to raise the cash required for land and mortgage payments. Only hog-raising provided an opportunity to convert skim-milk, whey, slops and frozen grain into cash. Unfortunately the tendency to treat hog-raising as a cheap and easy way to raise cash had negative repercussions. High-grade Yorkshire bacon hogs could not be raised in this fashion. By the 1920s they were in great demand on the market and Ukrainian farmers could not sell their hogs.[53]

Why did agriculture in the bloc settlement lag behind the rest of the province prior to 1916? A number of explanations come to mind. In the first place it should be recalled that most Ukrainian settlers arrived with little or no capital and had to spend a number of years working away from the farm in order to earn the capital required to begin farming. As a result they began to farm in earnest much later than the average settler from Ontario, the United States or northwestern Europe.

The Ukrainian peasant immigrant's desire to have an ample supply of wood on his land also militated against rapid "progress." Ukrainian homesteaders had to spend a great deal more time and energy clearing and improving the land than did settlers on the open prairie further to the south. Indeed development was slowest in the two northwestern districts (Wasel #575, Smoky Lake #576) and the two easternmost districts (Ukraina #513, Sobor #514). The two northwestern districts were heavily forested. In the eastern districts "the local topography--with its rolling hills, dense tree cover, and small lakes--was [also] not conducive to rapid development."[54] In the most highly developed districts within the bloc settlement (Norma #515, Birch Lake #484) the land was flatter and tree cover was sparser. The fact that these districts were populated primarily by well capitalized English- and

Table 4. Land, Field Crops, Livestock, 1916[53a]

	# of farms	Total acres land occupied	Acres/ farm	Total acres land improved	Acres improved/ farm
Smoky Lake (#576)	690	108,898	157.82	17,486	25.34
Vilna (#575)	655	106,977	163.32	19,115	29.18
Leslie (#547)	630	131,345	207.93	39,348	62.46
Wostok (#546)	714	131,383	184.01	35,399	49.58
The Pines (#516)	535	111,328	208.09	34,768	64.99
Eagle (#545)	542	112,601	207.75	35,982	66.39
Norma (#515)	358	105,383	294.36	41,910	117.07
Sobor (#514)	461	81,062	175.84	17,806	38.62
Birch Lake (#484)	280	65,060	232.36	23,811	85.04
Ukraina (#513)	483	78,158	161.82	15,829	32.77
10 Ukrainian Districts	5,348	1,032,195	193.01	281,454	52.63
Alberta	67,977	23,062,767	339.27	7,510,303	110.48

	Total acres field crops	Acres field crops/ farm	Total acres wheat	% field crops wheat	Acres wheat/ farm	Total acres oats	% field crops oats	Acres oats/ farm
(#576)	15,398	22.32	4,040	26.24	5.86	7,613	49.44	11.03
(#575)	17,464	26.66	4,739	27.14	7.24	9,257	53.01	14.13
(#547)	34,328	54.49	8,431	24.56	13.38	17,933	52.24	28.47
(#546)	28,379	39.75	7,907	27.86	11.07	14,750	51.98	20.66
(#516)	32,020	59.85	9,203	28.74	17.20	16,966	52.99	31.71
(#545)	33,507	61.82	10,509	31.36	19.39	17,314	51.67	31.94
(#515)	37,334	104.28	11,080	29.68	30.95	21,346	57.18	59.63
(#514)	16,422	35.62	6,190	37.69	13.43	7,499	45.66	16.27
(#484)	20,078	71.71	9,725	48.44	34.73	8,797	43.81	31.42
(#513)	14,254	29.51	4,182	29.34	8.66	6,935	48.65	14.36
10 Ukr. Dis.	249,184	46.59	76,006	30.50	14.21	128,410	51.53	24.01
Alta.	5505,872	81.00	2586,798	46.98	38.05	2124,081	38.58	31.25

	Total Horses	Horses/ farm	Total cattle	Cattle/ farm	Total sheep	Sheep/ farm	Total swine	Swine/ farm
(#576)	2,181	3.16	4,574	6.63	291	0.42	4,614	6.67
(#575)	1,948	2.97	4,036	6.16	307	0.47	4,900	7.48
(#547)	3,677	5.84	8,303	13.18	633	1.01	7,408	11.76
(#546)	3,698	5.18	8,582	12.02	780	1.09	8,625	12.08
(#516)	3,402	6.36	7,683	14.36	424	0.79	8,286	15.49
(#545)	3,389	6.25	7,417	13.68	1,027	1.89	8,495	15.67
(#515)	3,442	9.61	9,427	26.33	263	0.73	7,085	19.79
(#514)	1,942	4.21	5,972	12.95	47	0.10	4,668	10.13
(#484)	1,972	7.04	5,230	18.68	721	2.57	2,775	9.91
(#513)	1,680	3.48	5,182	10.73	400	0.83	5,003	10.36
10 Ukr. Dis.	27,331	5.11	66,406	12.42	4,893	0.91	61,859	11.57
Alta.	647,994	9.53	1178,781	17.34	294,690	4.34	606,984	8.93

French-speaking settlers prior to the 1920s also accounted for their advanced state of development.[55]

The length of time an area had been settled constituted a third factor influencing the degree of agricultural development. The underdeveloped districts (Wasel, Smoky Lake, Ukraina and Sobor) were also the last to be settled. Smoky Lake was formally opened up to settlement in 1902 although many settlers arrived after 1905. Wasel (Vilna) was settled even later. Similarly, the influx of settlers into the Sobor and Ukraina districts did not get under way in earnest until 1905-10. The more highly developed districts (Leslie #547, Wostok #546, Eagle #545 and The Pines #516) had been settled for 15 to 20 years. Aside from Townships 57 and 58 between Range 18 and 20--where there was heavy bush cover--they were sparsely wooded.[56] In these districts Ukrainians owned farms which were as large as the average Alberta farm. In the Shandro-Whitford area, where the soil was especially good, most Ukrainian farmers owned 320 acre farms by 1916 and a few owned as much as 800 acres. Many had improved over 100 acres of land and were engaged in commercial grain farming.[57] The area just north of Mundare was also well developed. There 22 of 30 Ukrainian farmers owned 320 acres of land or more. About 44 per cent of the land was improved, and of this 42 per cent had been sown with wheat. The Star-St. Michael-Wostok region, settled by the first Ukrainian immigrants from the village of Nebyliv, was also prosperous. Ivan Pylypow, who had launched the exodus of Ukrainians from Galicia to east central Alberta in 1891, had built a two storey frame house--his third home--in 1911, and was a prosperous grain farmer. Nor was he an exception. By 1916, 48 of 87 homes in the area were two storey (log or frame) structures and 47 of 87 farmers owned at least 320 acres of land.[58] In all these districts livestock was abundant (although not scientifically bred) and the farmers were turning to commercial wheat farming in earnest.

The railroad was the last factor that determined the rate of agricultural progress within the bloc settlement. Aside from the Andrew-Whitford area, the districts where farms were large and a high proportion of the acreage improved, were those districts nearest the

CNoR-1906 line at the southern boundary of the bloc settlement. The grain marketing facilities in the railroad towns (Mundare, Vegreville, etc.) provided an incentive to produce for the market and to improve more land. Further north, where it was necessary to haul grain more than 30 miles over poor roads to the nearest railroad town, there was little incentive to become involved in commercial grain farming. This tendency was reinforced by the peasant's traditional value system in which the need to provide for the needs of his family outweighed the desire for profit. As a result many Ukrainian settlers were content to remain subsistence farmers.

4. The Commercial Farm

Although the earliest Ukrainian immigrants--those settled in the environs of Lamont and along the CNoR-1906 line--had made the transition to commercial farming during the first decade of the century most Ukrainian settlers continued to be engaged in subsistence farming. High agricultural prices during and immediately after WW I finally accelerated the movement of the latter group out of subsistence agriculture into commercial farming. By the 1920s many were prosperous enough to construct two storey frame or brick houses. They were also investing their newly acquired wealth in new machinery and more land. Steam engines, threshing machines (separators), and from the late 1920s tractors, were added to the farm inventory. In the Shandro-Andrew area Ukrainian farmers bought up all the land. By 1929 the average farm in the Andrew district was about 416 acres in size, including 248 improved acres.[59] Most of the land around Vegreville had also been bought up by Ukrainian farmers who proceeded to expand into the area south of Ranfurly and Lavoy, displacing English- and French-speaking settlers.

A. War and the Transition to Commercial Farming

In 1914 the prairie farmer's crops were poor and the country was in the midst of a depression. Within a year a bumper crop and war-generated European demand for Canadian agricultural products had triggered a period of unprecedented expansion in Western Canadian wheat farming. As the price of a bushel of wheat increased from $0.91 in 1914 to $1.33 in 1916, $2.21 in 1917 and $2.31 in 1920, wheat acreage in Alberta tripled from 1,371,000 in 1914 to 2,605,000 in 1916 and 4,074,500 in 1920.[60] "About 55 per cent of all land seeded to field crops was planted to wheat [and] another 30 per cent of acreage was seeded to oats which were grown to provide feed for the horsepower needed to produce the wheat crop."[61] Hog and cattle prices increased almost as rapidly but because livestock raising required more skill, labour and higher investments, production did not increase drastically. By 1921 the half-ection farm was the norm and three-quarter-section farms were fairly common in all three Prairie provinces. Farmers were enjoying their new found prosperity by purchasing Ford Model Ts and other touring cars. Between 1913 and 1919 the number of cars in Alberta alone increased from 3,773 to 34,000.[62] Farm machinery companies also experienced a boom as farmers rushed to replace old equipment with new implements in spite of the fact that implement prices rose significantly during the war.

The Ukrainians of east central Alberta prospered during the war years. Having been classified as enemy aliens of Austrian origin Ukrainian farmers and their sons were not permitted to enlist (although some did). As a result they were able to take full advantage of war-time prices. However, as Andrij Makuch has pointed out, other factors besides their disqualification from military service came into play.[63] First, the operating expenses of Ukrainian farmers were lower and their real profits higher, because they were more reliant on family labour and less dependent on machinery and hired labour than the typical Canadian farmer. Second, their traditional emphasis on mixed farming immunized Ukrainian farmers against the consequences of sudden shifts in the wheat market. Third, Ukrainian farms, located in the parkland belt, received enough moisture during the dry summers of 1917-19 to produce good crops. Finally, many Ukrainians managed to work their own farms and hire themselves or their sons out as harvest labourers thereby increasing their income.

While the war years were a major turning point for Ukrainian farmers in east central Alberta, their agricultural expansion did not match the expansion of Alberta farmers in general. While improved acreage increased by 56.7 per cent in the province of Alberta as a whole, it increased by only 52.2 per cent in the ten predominantly Ukrainian districts of east central Alberta. Likewise, while wheat acreage increased by 87.6 per cent in the province as a whole, it increased by 84.3 per cent in the ten Ukrainian districts.

Table 5. Improved and Wheat Acreage, 1916-1921.[64]

District	Improved Acreage 1916	Improved Acreage 1921	% Inc.	Wheat Acreage 1916	Wheat Acreage 1921	% Inc.
Smoky Lake (#576)	17,486	27,061	54.8	4,040	6,560	62.4
Wasel (#575)	19,115	27,480	43.8	4,739	6,831	44.1
Leslie (#547)	39,348	58,475	48.6	8,431	14,990	77.8
Wostok (#546)	35,399	47,840	35.1	7,907	15,242	92.8
The Pines (#516)	34,768	50,214	44.4	9,203	19,176	108.4
Eagle (#545)	35,982	54,942	52.7	10,509	18,883	79.7
Norma (#515)	41,910	67,993	62.2	11,080	21,082	90.3
Sobor (#514)	17,806	24,867	39.7	6,190	11,297	82.5
Birch Lake (#484)	23,811	44,785	88.1	9,725	19,051	95.9
Ukraina (#513)	15,829	24,756	56.4	4,182	6,982	67.0
10 Ukrainian Districts	281,454	428,413	52.2	76,006	140,094	84.3
Alberta	7,510,303	11,768,042	56.7	2,586,798	4,853,967	87.6

Only in Norma and Birch Lake did improved acreage increase more than it did in the province as a whole. Wheat acreage also failed to increase as rapidly as it did in the rest of the province, except in the districts of Norma, Birch Lake, Wostok and The Pines. All of these districts had been settled early and were situated along the CNoR - 1906 line. Thus their residents had an incentive to produce for the market. Yet, even in these four districts the amount of land seeded to wheat remained well below the provincial average (see Table 6).

Indeed, by 1921 most Ukrainian farmers had not yet reached the level attained by the average Alberta farmer in 1916 (see Table 6). Only in Norma and Birch Lake had the 1916 provincial standards been surpassed by 1921. In Norma the 1921 provincial standards had also been

Table 6. Land, Field Crops, 1921[65]

	# of farms	Total acres land occupied	Acres/ farm	Total acres land improved	Acres improved/ farm
Smoky Lake (#576)	740	123,654	167.10	27,061	36.57
Vilna (#575)	633	110,368	174.36	27,480	43.41
Leslie (#547)	626	160,488	256.37	58,475	93.41
Wostok (#546)	684	160,116	234.09	47,840	69.94
The Pines (#516)	575	146,465	254.72	50,214	87.33
Eagle (#545)	565	146,120	258.62	54,942	97.24
Norma (#515)	446	164,844	369.60	67,993	152.45
Sobor (#514)	462	96,586	209.01	24,867	53.82
Birch Lake (#484)	412	112,009	271.87	44,785	108.70
Ukraina (#513)	462	82,593	178.77	24,756	53.58
Alberta (1916)	67,977	23,062,767	339.27	7,510,303	110.48
10 Ukrainian Districts (1921)	5,605	1,303,243	232.51	428,413	76.43
Alberta (1921)	82,954	29,293,053	353.12	11,768,042	141.86

	Total acres field crops	Acres field crops/ farm	Total acres wheat	% field crops wheat	Acres wheat/ farm	Total acres oats	% field crops oats	Acres oats/ farm
(#576)	22,557	30.48	6,560	29.08	8.86	11,727	51.99	15.85
(#575)	21,486	33.94	6,831	31.79	10.79	12,410	57.76	19.61
(#547)	44,577	71.21	14,990	33.63	23.95	20,850	46.77	33.31
(#546)	39,056	57.10	15,242	39.03	22.28	17,182	43.99	25.12
(#516)	43,151	75.05	19,176	44.44	33.35	19,524	45.25	33.95
(#545)	43,480	76.96	18,883	43.43	33.42	18,838	43.33	33.34
(#515)	58,344	130.82	21,082	36.13	47.27	31,792	54.49	71.28
(#514)	21,063	45.59	11,297	53.63	24.45	7,563	35.91	16.37
(#484)	38,099	92.47	19,051	50.00	46.24	14,217	37.32	34.51
(#513)	17,642	38.19	6,982	39.58	15.11	7,922	44.90	17.15
Alta. (1916)	5505872	81.00	2586798	46.98	38.05	2124081	38.58	31.25
10 Ukr. Dis.	349455	62.35	140094	40.01	24.99	162025	46.37	28.91
Alta. (1921)	8523190	102.75	4853967	59.95	58.51	2546167	29.87	30.69

surpassed. Smoky Lake, Wasel (Vilna) and Ukraina districts--all of them settled late, heavily wooded and without railway service prior to 1920--continued to be the least developed areas. In these three districts the typical farmer seeded only between nine and 15 acres of wheat.

Table 7 shows, the quarter section farm continued to predominate in the bloc settlement as late as 1926:

Table 7. Size of Farms (Per Cent), 1926.[66]

	1-160	161-320	321-480	481-640	640+	Acres
Smoky Lake (#576)	64.14	30.21	5.10	0.41	0.14	
Vilna (#575)	74.32	21.03	3.05	1.12	0.48	
Leslie (#547)	50.62	32.46	11.54	4.00	1.38	
Wostok (#546)	66.37	22.85	6.80	2.31	1.67	
The Pines (#516)	54.19	29.38	9.80	4.11	2.53	
Eagle (#545)	69.83	21.26	5.32	2.44	1.15	
Norma (#515)	38.01	37.67	11.82	7.77	4.73	
Sobor (#514)	64.77	27.08	6.06	1.33	0.76	
Birch Lake (#484)	44.65	34.65	13.02	5.35	2.33	
Ukraina (#513)	69.16	23.77	5.89	1.18	0	
10 Ukrainian Districts	60.24	27.64	7.64	2.90	1.49	
Alberta	40.11	30.71	12.58	8.15	8.44	

Ukrainian farmers may have been integrated into the mainstream of Alberta agriculture, but many of them remained well behind the rest of the Alberta farming community. The post-war recession (1920-24), when wheat prices plummeted, caught many of them by surprise. Land and machinery purchased in 1919 reverted to their original owners and merchants. Between 1926 and 1929, however, good crop yields and adequate prices ushered in a brief period of prosperity.

B. The Mechanized Commercial Farm of the 1920s.

Larger farms and more sown acreage kept farmers busy during the 1920s. The crop production cycle began in the early spring as soon as the weather was warm enough and the fields dry enough to be worked. Usually this occurred between mid-April and mid-May. First the fields were cultivated and harrowed. The farmer usually used a two or three bottom gang plough for ploughing and harrowed with a smoothing harrow and disks. A seed drill which planted the grain and covered the seed in one operation was used for seeding. Before it was sown the grain was treated for smut with a formaldehyde solution. Spring tillage and seeding did not consume a great deal of time. Peter Salahub was able to till and seed a 200 acre farm in about two and one half weeks.[67] Wheat, the major cash crop, was always the first grain to be planted. Barley, oats, rye and fodder crops were planted later.

Once tillage and seeding had been completed general cultivation and summer fallow work was done. To ensure that the land would not wear out a field was left fallow every fourth year. Summer fallow was usually cultivated in June. Three procedures were followed.[68] The previous year's stubble was ploughed under. Then the land was cultivated with a smoothing harrow, a disk harrow or a cultivator. Finally, it was worked again with a harrow. When weeds appeared it was reworked with disks and harrow. Usually it was necessary to rework a fallow field two or three times during the summer. In the fall the field was worked again with a disk harrow. The first year after it had been left fallow the field was seeded with wheat which requires fertile soil to grow. In the following two years oats or barely were sown.

Hay-making was also done prior to the grain harvest. Hay was cut when it had attained a sufficient height--usually twice in the course of a summer. It was "cut with a mower, then raked into rows with a rake and left on the ground to dry. It was then gathered into large haystacks . . . During the winter, hay was brought to the barn from the stacks . . . as it was needed."[69]

Harvesting, which usually commenced in mid-August, remained the most intense phase of the crop cycle. The grain was cut and tied into sheaves with a binder. By the 1920s most farmers had one or two binders of their own. The sheaves were then stacked into stooks and left to dry. It took two or three men about two weeks to cut and stook a 200 acre crop. When they had dried, the sheaves of grain were threshed. In the 1920s threshing outfits were frequently owned by a group of farmers. An outfit moved from farm to farm with a crew of up to 12 men who had to be provided with room and board and fed up to five times daily. Threshing season usually began in mid-Septemer and continued into late November.

Throughout the 1920s most Ukrainian farmers, and Prairie farmers in general, continued to use horses to power their farm machinery. Power farming did not begin seriously until the late 1920s and was not general until after the Second World War.[70] The first tractors were too heavy and cumbersome for field work; smaller tractors manufactured after 1920 lacked power, mired down easily and frequently overheated. The price of a tractor "ranged from $800 to $1200 for which the farmer could purchase five to seven work horses, while a tractor could do the work of only four. Horses could be fed by home grown oats and did not consume gasoline."[71] Calculations made during the early 1920s suggested that it cost 42¢ an acre to do field work with an eight-horse team compared to 70¢ with a tractor. Moreover, few farmers were qualified to perform the maintenance and repair work required of a tractor owner; most horse-drawn machinery was not adaptable to tractor operation; and before the advent of a reliable truck, most farmers would remain dependent on horse-drawn wagons for hauling. Consequently, in 1926 only two per cent of Prairie farmers owned tractors and many of them continued to rely on their horses.

Tractor sales began to escalate in 1927. By 1930 one in seven Prairie farmers owned a tractor. A number of factors contributed to the growing popularity of the tractor. By the late 1920s efficient light "three-plough" and "four-plough" tractors had been developed. Farmers also found that they could reduce the costs of threshing "by buying small separators and using the belt power of a gasoline tractor [rather than an expensive steam engine] to run them."[72] Finally the adaption of the combine (reaper-thresher) to Canadian conditions during the late 1920s helped to boost tractor sales because most of the early combines were of the pull-type. The high grain yields and good prices of 1927 and 1928 also encouraged many farmers to invest in a tractor. Ankli, Helsberg and Thompson have concluded that "by the end of the 1920s operating with tractors cost less than continuing to farm with horses at almost all acreage levels."[73] They buttress their conclusion with the data below:

Table 8. Acreage Covered Per Ten-Hour Day by Horses and Tractors.[74]

Operation	4horse team	6horse team	8horse team	2plough tractor	3plough tractor	4plough tractor
Ploughing stubble	4.5	4.8	7.6	8.1	12.6	15.7
Ploughing sod	1.9	3.6	4.6	5.7	7.6	8.9
One way disking	--	--	10.0	--	26.6	32.2
Disking--single	13.7	20.3	30.5	33.1	62.1	72.9
Disking--tandem	8.2	14.9	16.8	27.9	34.4	35.7
Cultivation	13.1	16.5	20.1	30.0	35.0	37.5
Rod weeding	--	23.0	28.0	35.0	47.5	64.4
Harrowing	31.8	42.5	63.0	66.5	98.7	123.0
Seeding	19.2	25.4	33.5	33.0	42.0	55.2
Binding	17.4	--	--	26.8	30.3	31.6

Ukrainian farmers, especially representatives of the second generation, which was taking control as the original immigrants retired and passed away, were quick to purchase tractors. Contemporaries feared that they were too eager to adopt the new machinery, going "from tractor to separator and then to power implements" all the while accumulating heavy debts.[75]

The increased demands of working a large homestead meant that Ukrainian farmers had little time left for maintenance activities.

Felling trees and preparing logs for construction became too time consuming. As a result more homes and out-buildings were built by hired carpenters with materials purchased at lumber yards. Although many of the new frame houses were built according to purchased blueprints, they frequently retained elements of Ukrainian folk architecture.[76]

The homes built by successful Ukrainian commercial farmers during the 1920s were frame structures which combined elements of Ukrainian vernacular architecture with Canadian or North American styles. They were a concrete expression of their owners' prosperity in the new land and reflected their assimilation into Canadian society. The Hawrelak house, one of four large homes built in the Shandro area in 1919 in the North American 'manor house' style at a cost of $5,000, exemplifies the trend. It was "a large two storey structure consisting of a kitchen, pantry, bedroom, hallway and living and dining rooms on the main floor and five bedrooms on the upper storey."[77] In size, shape, number of rooms and spatial arrangement, as well as in its square rather than rectangular base, stained glass windows and interior wainscoting, the house was North American. Yet elements of Ukrainian vernacular architecture were perceptible in the home's simplicity of form and simple linear configuration. There were no bay windows or asymmetrical roof lines. The verandas along the facade and two sides of the house were also characteristic of Ukrainian folk architecture. Even the decorative details on the veranda posts bore a strong resemblance to traditional prototypes. In keeping with Ukrainian folk architecture, the exterior walls were painted white, while doors, window frames, corner boards and the veranda's supporting lattice were highlighted with brown and dark green paint. Finally, the asymmetrical arrangement of doors and windows was also strongly reminiscent of Ukrainian folk architecture.

Although the spatial arrangement of rooms was North American, the kitchen and living room continued to function like the mala and velyka khata in a traditional dwelling. In both furniture was placed against the walls to free a maximum amount of space in the centre. The kitchen served as the major living area of the house and was furnished with a hand-crafted table and benches. The living room was referred to as the "velyka khata" and was reserved for special or festive occasions, holidays and parties. Sofas and armchairs were conspicuous by their absence. Instead the living room was furnished with a table, a buffet and four wooden benches covered with long hand-woven runners. Icons, family photos and prints adorned the walls.

C. Agricultural Trends to 1930

A number of new trends were discernible in the operation of Ukrainian farming enterprises during the 1920s. The leasing out and renting of farmsteads was one of the new trends. Successful farmers with entrepreneurial interests leased their farms when they went into business. Immigrants who had been unable to establish a farmstead of their own because they had been employed as wage labourers, lacked the necessary finances, or had obtained inferior homestead lands, rented land with the objective of ultimately setting themselves up as independent farmers. Successful farmers, especially in the environs of Vegreville, frequently rented lands from their English-speaking neighbours. Among Ukrainian farmers land was usually rented on a crop-sharing basis: the tenant paid the landlord one-third of his crop in exchange for the use of the landlord's farmland and buildings. In general, however, there was less leasing and renting of land in the bloc settlement than in the rest of Alberta as Table 9 illustrates:

Table 9. Percentage of Owners, Tenants and Owner/Tenants 1921--1926--1931[78]

	1921			1926			1931		
	O	T	O/T	O	T	O/T	O	T	O/T
10 Ukrainian Districts	91.9	4.8	3.3	90.3	5.7	4.0	88.2	5.8	6.0
Alberta	80.3	9.7	10.0	71.0	14.5	14.5	73.0	12.2	14.8

As a rule there were fewer tenants in the less developed districts (Smoky Lake, Vilna, Ukraina) and most in the developed districts (Norma, Birch Lake).

Larger farming operations also obliged many Ukrainian farmers to employ "hired men" and female domestic help. A man and his wife could simply not run a three, four or five quarter-section farm on their own. Truancy laws and a growing appreciation of the benefits of higher education also meant that teenaged children were frequently unavailable to help out with the farm work. The arrival of a new wave of immigrants from Western Ukraine between 1924 and 1930 provided established farmers with a pool of cheap labour to draw upon. The employment of hired help was especially common in the well developed districts such as Norma, and most infrequent in Smoky Lake, Vilna, Sobor and Ukraina districts. As the table below indicates, however, the family, especailly female members of the family, continued to provide more labour power on the Ukrainian farm than they did elsewhere. It also appears that there were still fewer permanent and temporary hired workers on the average farm in the bloc settlement than there were in Alberta as a whole:

Table 10. Number of Workers per Farm, 1935.[79]

	Total	Family		Hired	
		male	female	permanent	temporary
10 Ukrainian Districts	2.286	1.486	0.062	0.062	0.711
Alberta	2.343	1.300	0.037	0.092	0.913

It was commonly recognized that the progress and agricultural expansion of Ukrainian farmers prior to 1930 was primarily attributable to their large families, which provided a larger working unit, the work done by women, and the very low expectations and simple lifestyle to which Ukrainian immigrants had been accustomed.

The late 1920s also saw important changes in livestock farming. Initially Ukrainian peasant farmers had been suspicious of new breeds, trends and feeding methods. They were not eager to buy minerals and proteins for their pigs and cattle. They ignored consumer demand for quality and displayed little interest in the white bacon-type hog, the use of pure-bred sires for their cattle, and good strains of milking cows.[80] During the early 1920s the expansion of wheat farming and the disappearance of vacant homestead and railroad lands which had been used as free pastures, prompted many farmers to neglect and cut back on their livestock. The appointment of provincial district agriculturalists and liaison officers of the Federal Department of Agriculture acted as a stimulus to better farming methods after 1925. The plummeting grain prices of the Depression years increased interest in livestock, fodder crops and efficient feeding and breeding methods during the 1930s. Years later the northwestern districts--Smoky Lake and Vilna--became important cattle producing centres.

By 1930, in the more advanced districts, Ukrainian farmers had just about caught up with or even surpassed the provincial standards for farm size, improved acreage, wheat acreage and amount of livestock. Overall, and especially in the more backward districts they were still well behind.

Table 11. Land, Field Crops, Livestock, 1931: Average Per Farm.[81]

	Size (acres)	Improved (acres)	Wheat (acres)	Horses	Cattle	Swine	Poultry
10 Ukrainian Districts	249.62	139.29	66.44	6.39	8.50	14.72	88.46
Alberta	400.15	181.21	80.73	7.66	11.75	10.85	89.58

Table 12. Land, Field Crops, Livestock, 1931[82]

	# of farms	Total acres land occupied	Acres/ farm	Total acres land improved	Acres improved/ farm
Smoky Lake (#576)	736	146,241	198.70	67,311	91.46
Vilna (#575)	661	146,340	221.39	56,515	85.50
Leslie (#547)	655	173,718	265.22	113,179	172.79
Wostok (#546)	803	182,336	227.07	114,754	142.91
The Pines (#516)	631	165,840	262.82	99,757	158.09
Eagle (#545)	763	175,567	230.11	114,758	150.40
Norma (#515)	655	198,191	302.58	136,774	208.82
Sobor (#514)	637	153,881	241.57	66,027	103.65
Birch Lake (#484)	499	164,873	330.41	88,112	176.58
Ukraina (#513)	598	149,997	250.83	67,402	112.71
10 Ukrainian Districts	6,638	1,656,984	249.62	924,583	139.29
Alberta	97,408	38,977,457	400.15	17,748,518	182.21

	Total acres field crops	Acres field crops/ farm	Total acres wheat	% field crops wheat	Acres wheat/ farm	Total acres oats	% field crops oats	Acres oats/ farm
(#576)	49,205	66.85	28,752	58.43	39.07	11,965	24.32	16.26
(#575)	41,757	63.17	24,700	59.15	37.37	11,696	28.01	17.69
(#547)	77,382	118.14	47,729	61.68	72.87	17,133	22.14	26.16
(#546)	87,090	108.46	55,550	63.78	69.18	19,447	22.33	24.22
(#516)	74,578	118.19	49,217	65.99	78.00	18,670	25.03	29.59
(#545)	86,772	113.72	52,190	60.15	68.40	22,746	26.21	29.81
(#515)	102,134	155.93	61,309	60.03	93.60	29,141	28.53	44.48
(#514)	50,180	78.78	36,026	71.79	56.56	10,423	20.77	16.36
(#484)	67,619	135.51	49,876	73.76	99.95	13,063	19.32	26.18
(#513)	52,604	87.97	35,648	67.77	59.61	13,363	25.40	22.35
10 Ukr. Dis.	689,321	103.84	440,997	63.98	66.44	167,647	24.32	25.26
Alta.	12037,394	123.58	7864,216	65.33	80.73	2465,688	20.48	25.31

	Total Horses	Horses/ farm	Total cattle	Cattle/ farm	Total swine	Swine/ farm	Total poultry	Poultry/ farm
(#576)	3,724	5.06	4,795	6.51	9,068	12.32	63,738	86.60
(#575)	3,569	5.40	5,607	8.48	6,838	10.34	49,030	74.18
(#547)	4,772	7.29	6,183	9.44	12,626	19.28	77,992	119.07
(#546)	5,035	6.27	5,402	6.73	15,130	18.84	70,471	87.76
(#516)	4,509	7.15	5,253	8.32	10,675	16.92	69,889	110.76
(#545)	5,050	6.62	5,083	6.66	14,261	18.70	68,515	89.80
(#515)	5,108	7.80	6,264	9.56	11,173	17.06	63,183	96.46
(#514)	3,487	5.47	6,147	9.65	5,812	9.12	45,750	71.82
(#484)	3,561	7.14	6,136	12.30	4,574	9.17	35,004	70.15
(#513)	3.613	6.04	5,546	9.27	7,541	12.61	43,621	72.94
10 Ukr. Dis.	42,428	6.39	56,416	8.50	97,698	14.72	587,193	88.46
Alta.	745,955	7.66	1144,327	11.75	1057,104	10.85	8725,866	89.58

As a final index of the Ukrainian farmer's economic standing a comparison and breakdown of farm values may be cited:

Table 13. Average Value of Individual Farm, 1935.[83]

(in dollars)

	Total	Land	Buildings	House	Machines & Implements	Livestock
#576	3582.69	1715.07	737.22	372.87	644.69	485.70
#575	3512.13	1634.81	786.16	381.72	619.76	471.40
#547	8114.62	4839.68	1468.19	726.50	1016.91	789.84
#546	5327.82	3041.95	916.92	459.79	783.20	585.76
#516	6053.18	3499.01	1137.82	565.16	772.95	643.41
#545	5723.66	3214.34	1099.13	519.45	762.97	647.22
#515	7897.82	4625.99	1478.72	752.74	982.67	810.43
#514	4309.25	2199.39	806.44	400.31	735.12	568.30
#484	5937.45	3440.43	970.13	510.38	798.93	727.97
#513	5262.75	2631.91	1018.18	505.95	906.61	706.06
10 Ukr. Dist.	5529.34	3059.55	1036.23	515.70	796.78	636.79
Alta.	6722.91	3991.64	1159.93	612.70	797.78	780.11

Although they seem to have had more than their share of machinery and implements, and the full complement of out-buildings, Ukrainian farmers still had less good, improved land and livestock of superior quality. Progress had been slowest in the northwestern districts and in the eastern districts. The wealthiest districts (Leslie #547 and Norma #515), it should be noted, had the lowest percentage of Ukrainian inhabitants (50.1 and 58.4 respectively) in 1931.

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Chapter Four: The Rural Community and Its Institutions

Chapter Four: The Rural Community and Its Institutions

1. Introduction: The Rural Community

Unlike other groups such as the Mennonites and Doukhobors, Ukrainians made no effort to duplicate their traditional village settlement patterns in Western Canada. Irregularly shaped clustered villages, located along rivers and streams with fields on the outskirts, did not appear in east central Alberta. Instead, Ukrainians settled on quarter-section homesteads, with the result that they often found themselves half a mile from their nearest neighbour.

Nevertheless the traditional settlement pattern was partially reconstituted. Village-like rural communities appeared, although in spatially extended form as a result of the homestead system. This partial reconstitution, as Bilash points out, was facilitated by chain migration and gravitational settlement.[1] Kinsmen, fellow villagers and inhabitants of the same district tended to settle near one another. As a result, the sociologist C.H. Young was able to conclude that "old world communities [had been] taken up wholesale and set down on the soil of our Prairie Provinces."[2]

Rural communities could be small and simple or they could be large and fairly complex. A rural community might be no larger than a school district. In such a community the local schoolhouse could be the only readily identifiable point. Church services, concerts, meetings, picnics and other community functions might be held in and around the building. However such an arrangement rarely satisfied all the needs of the local population. The settlers would be obliged to frequent neighbouring communities which provided more services. These more complex rural communities usually contained a school, church and community hall, each in its own specialized structure. They might also offer the services of a blacksmith, implement dealer and miller. Rarest of all was a community that also featured a post office which was often operated in conjunction with a general store and a toll telephone.

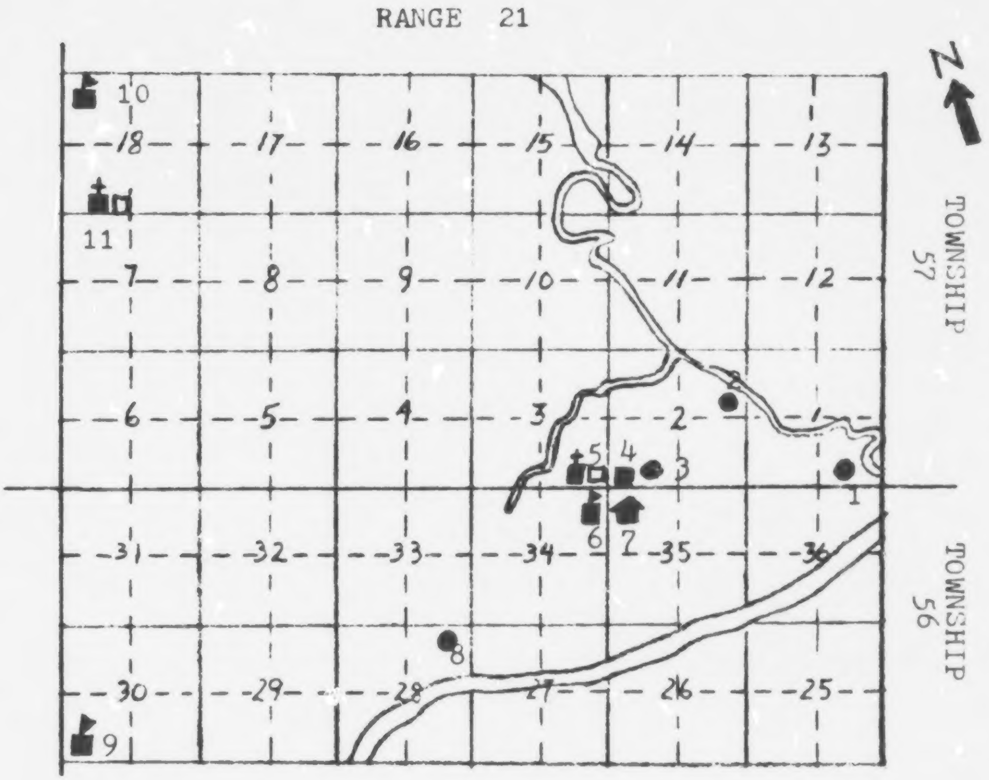
Because all of these services were not offered in every rural community it is best to see rural east central Alberta as a "series of interdependent communities". This tendency for rural communities to overlap was reinforced by the fact that membership in such communities was voluntary. Kinship and village ties, religious persuasion, political convictions and ease of access could determine which community a settler decided to belong to. In some cases this choice did not coincide with the community chosen by his immediate neighbours. Moreover, because the component services--the church, school, hall, store, blacksmith, etc.--were almost always dispersed rather than clustered together, it was difficult to determine which services belonged to which community. Only the local residents were aware of the boundaries.

Nevertheless each of these interdependent rural communities had an identity. Each had a name, an informal system of designating the location of institutions within the community, and a complex of institutions utilized by most if not all local residents. Usually the community derived its name from the local post office or school. These in turn had most often been named after Old Country villages and districts (Jaroslaw, Brody, Zawale), Ukrainian historical figures (Oleskow, Franko), popular Ukrainian slogans (Svoboda, Myrnam), topographic features (Nisku [=Nyzky], Bellis [Bilyi lis]), or, more prosaically after the first post master (Shandro, Wasel). Local institutions, especially churches, were identified by the name of the homesteader on whose land they had been built. As a result only local residents could speak about the community in mutually comprehensible terms. Finally the institutions around which social life revolved--the church, school, hall, store, and mission (where one existed)--defined the community and imbued its members with an identity and a sense of place.

A number of factors retarded the evolution of community life. In Galicia and Bukovyna leadership had been provided by the village priest and his family. Conscientious and dedicated pastors organized reading clubs, established cooperatives, conducted choirs, sponsored amateur theatricals, invited lecturers and introduced the peasants to new methods of agriculture. Where clergymen failed to display this type of leadership, or where they tried to inhibit peasant initiative, these functions were frequently performed by the local Ukrainian school teacher. In east central Alberta there were few resident clergymen in any of the rural communities. The handful of Ukrainian Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox priests were all harried missionaries, who held services in a different community every week. They were just barely able to look after the spiritual needs of the settlers. Nor was there a significant number of Ukrainian school teachers in east central Alberta prior to the second half of the 1920s. In these circumstances, leadership at the local level was provided by immigrants who had acquired some education and experience in public life in the Old Country. Unfortunately there were few immigrants with these qualifications.

Economic considerations were also a determining factor. C.H. Young observed that during the early years, the exodus of males who went out to work was so great "that any work of a community nature was impossible."[3] Although churches were built, settlers were often unwilling to assume the responsibility of building and maintaining a school and paying a teacher's salary. Needless to say, other less essential services and the structures needed to accommodate them were also neglected. While almost 130 schools were constructed between 1904 and 1914, stores did not begin to appear in numbers until after 1910. Although a few reading clubs began to meet in private homes shortly after 1900, most community halls were built during the 1920s after high agricultural prices had carried many Ukrainian farmers to prosperity during and after the war. During the 1920s most farmers could afford to participate in the cultural and recreational activities provided in such facilities. The contingent of Ukrainian school teachers, which finally emerged during the 1920s, provided the personnel required to make these institutions work.

This chapter does not try to recapture and analyze life in a typical Ukrainian rural community in east central Alberta. Such an endeavour would require sources which do not exist and time which is not available. Instead, a conventional historical account of the five major rural institutions--the church, the Protestant mission, the rural school, the country store and the community hall--is presented. Hopefully it will help make subsequent research more productive. If the rural community is to be understood, events which took place beyond it, but had local reverberations, must be taken into account.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Map 16. Cookville: A Typical Rural Community and its Institutions.

Key: 1.Cookville Post Office, 1904-11. 2.Cookville Post Office, 1919-23. 3.Cookville Post Office, 1924-26. 4.Community Hall. 5.St. John's Ukrainian Catholic Church (est. 1911) and cemetery. 6.Amelia School (est. 1909). 7.Amelia Store. 8.Vinca Post Office. 9.Cloverdale School. 10.Ufford School (est. 1910). 11.Church of the Blessed Virgin (est. 1921) and cemetery.

Adapted from Lesowy/MacLeod, "The Lakusta Barn and Granary: Land Use and Structural History." Unpublished Report, UCHV, HSS, Alberta Culture, 1984. Page 49.

2. The Church

1890 to 1918

The Ukrainian immigrants who settled in east central Alberta between 1890 and 1930 belonged almost exclusively[4] to the Greek Catholic (Uniate) and Greek Orthodox Churches upon arrival. As these two Churches were unable or unwilling to provide permanent priests or missionaries many of the immigrants appealed to representatives of Churches already established in North America. Prior to the World War two Churches in particular made significant gains among Ukrainians in all parts of Western Canada. The first, the Russian Orthodox Church, was represented in North America by the Bishop of the Aleutian Islands and Alaska, who was subordinated to the Holy Synod in Moscow.[5] The second, the Independent Greek Church, was the brainchild of Galician Radicals, who enjoyed the backing of the Presbyterian Church of Canada. (The efforts of Methodist missionaries will be discussed later in this chapter).

A. The First Missionaries

Members of the clergy did not figure prominently in the exodus of Ukrainian peasants from Galicia and Bukovyna. While it is true that few Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox priests were anxious to endure life under pioneer conditions, it should be borne in mind that forces beyond their control were also involved. The independent Greek Orthodox Metropolitan of Chernivtsi, in Bukovyna, refused to dispatch priests to North America "out of deference to the jurisdictional claims of the Russian Orthodox Church"[6] which had appointed its first North American bishop in 1840. Although the Greek Catholic Church had dispatched a handful of missionaries to the United States and Canada during the 1880s and 1890s, their relations with the local Roman Catholic hierarchy had been far from amicable.[7] Roman Catholic bishops in the USA and Canada refused to tolerate married Greek Catholic priests in their dioceses. In 1894 the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith issued a decree forbidding married priests to have jurisdiction in North America. At a stroke 97 per cent of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic priests in Galicia were disqualified from missionary work in the new land. The Roman Catholic bishops also tried to have the celibate Greek Catholic priests whom they recognized placed under their own authority, and they opposed the creation of a separate Greek Catholic hierarchy in North America.[8] This also discouraged Greek Catholic priests from immigrating to Canada. Consequently, only three Ukrainian Greek Catholic priests--Rev. Nestor Dmytriv (1896-97), Rev. Paul Tymkiewicz (1898), and Rev. Ivan Zaklynsky (1900-01)--visited Ukrainian settlers in east central Alberta prior to 1902.

In the absence of Ukrainian priests the settlers gathered in their homes, said prayers and sang Mass by themselves. Some approached the Roman Catholic and Protestant clergy when they wanted baptisms, marriages and funerals performed. Finally, in 1896 a group of settlers at Wostok, many of them from Kalush and Brody districts in Galicia where Russophilism had been widespread, wrote to Nicholas, the Russian Orthodox Bishop of the Aleutian Islands and Alaska, and asked him to send priests. The Bishop congratualted the settlers and their leaders, Theodore Nemirsky and Anton Sawka, for remembering that they were "Russians" and welcomed them back into their "ancestral faith." By July 1897 the first Russian Orthodox service had been celebrated at Wostok by Rev. Dmitrii Kamenev and Rev. Vladimir Alexandrov. Within a year Rev. Jacob Korchinsky, the first Russian Orthodox missionary, was working in the Wostok area. Thereafter Russian Orthodox missionaries penetrated Bukovynian Greek Orthodox districts and disaffected Galician Greek Catholic settlements.

The penetration of Bukovynian settlements by Russian Orthodox missionaries was a foregone conclusion. The Greek Orthodox consistory in Chernivtsi had declined to send priests to North America and Ukrainian national consciousness among Bukovynian peasants was less developed than it was among the Galician Greek Catholics.[9] On the other hand the penetration of Russian Orthodoxy into Galician Greek Catholic settlements was facilitated by disputes between Roman and Greek Catholic clergymen. In 1897 Rev. Dmytriv had been informed by Bishop Legal that it would be impossible for two Catholic Churches (Roman and Greek), each with its own hierarchy and dioceses, to exist in Canada.[10] Dmytriv reacted by warning the settlers to be on their guard with the "French" if they wanted the Greek Catholic Church to survive. Rev. Dmytriv also alienated a number of influential settlers by publishing a critical account of the social conditions in Ukrainian settlements in Manitoba and Alberta.[11]

Bishop Legal's efforts to have church land, which had been granted to the Greek Catholic congregation at Edna-Star, vested in the Roman Catholic Church also provoked indignation among many settlers. The missionary activity of Rev. Olszewski, a Canadian-educated Polish Roman Catholic Oblate missionary, had the same effect.[12] Although Bishop Legal was more tolerant and broad-minded than his superior, Archbishop Langevin of St. Boniface, in east central Alberta, as elsewhere in Western Canada, Ukrainian Greek Catholic settlers began to fear that their rite would be "latinized." These suspicions--largely unwarranted--provided fertile soil for the spread of Russian Orthodoxy. A number of Galician Greek Catholic communities split into two hostile camps: a pro-Catholic group which urged cooperation with the Roman Catholic hierarchy until permanent Ukrainian Greek Catholic priests could be obtained, and a pro-Russian Orthodox group, frequently led by Russophiles, which counselled a "return to the ancestral Orthodox faith" and invited Russian Orthodox missionaries to minister to the community's spiritual needs. Where a church had already been constructed, as in Edna-Star, litigation ensued to determine which group was entitled to use the church. Frequently this proved to be a long and costly process.[13]

The incursion of Russian Orthodox missionaries so alarmed Archbishop Langevin and Bishop Legal that they dispatched Father Albert Lacombe to Europe in 1900. The pioneer missionary visited the Pope, Emperor Francis Joseph and Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky pleading for

Ukrainian Greek Catholic missionaries. Since no celibate secular priests willing to come to Canada could be found, the problem was resolved in two ways, neither of which was entirely satisfactory in the eyes of many settlers. First, Belgian Redemptorist and French-Canadian Oblate missionaries were allowed to transfer from the Latin (Roman Catholic) to the Byzantine (Greek Catholic) rite. After receiving a crash course in the Ukrainian language and the Byzantine rite at Basilian monasteries in eastern Galicia they were sent into Ukrainian settlements in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. The second solution consisted of asking the Basilian monks, the only Ukrainian Greek Catholic missionary order, to divert some of their missionaries from Brazil and Argentina to Canada. The first three Basilians arrived in Canada in the fall of 1902 and settled near Mundare, Alberta. Although the Basilians also had a missionary in Winnipeg, east central Alberta was from the outset their primary field of activity. Before examining their efforts to establish the Greek Catholic Church in east central Alberta it is necessary to survey the growth of Russian Orthodoxy and the Independent Greek Church in east central Alberta.

B. The Russian Orthodox Church

The first Russian Orthodox missionaries had arrived in east central Alberta in 1897 and established themselves at Wostok among Galician settlers. When Greek Orthodox Bukovynians began to settle around Andrew the missionaries extended their services into these districts also. Yet, prior to 1904, the services provided by the Church remained sporadic and unorganized.

Until the end of the nineteenth century the Russian Orthodox establishment in North America, headed by the Bishop of the Aleutian Islands and Alaska, had been very small with only a handful of parishes in centres of Russian population such as San Francisco, New York and New Orleans. The Church began to grow in the 1890s when a number of Greek Catholic congregations (primarily Carpatho-Rusyn, Ukrainian and Belorussian) in the USA and Canada converted to Russian Orthodoxy. The conversions were precipitated on both sides of the border by conflicts between Greek Catholic priests and Roman Catholic bishops.[14]

Between 1898 and 1907 the Russian Orthodox Church was headed by Archbishop Tikhon Beliavin (1865-1925). Tikhon transferred the diocesan seat from San Francisco to New York, renamed it the Diocese of the Aleutian Islands and North America, and after touring the USA and Canada set out to strengthen the Church by providing more priests. His work, as Magocsi has pointed out, coincided with a period of intense Russian missionary activity in Europe and North America. This activity was but one "aspect of the foreign policy of tsarist Russia in the three decades prior to the outbreak of World War I. The Russian government hoped to undermine the power of the Hapsburg empire by converting Greek Catholic peasants within Austria-Hungary and its emigrants in the USA [and Canada] to Orthodoxy; conversion to the Russian Orthodox Church was thought to foster loyalty to the tsar and to all things Russian."[15] By 1900 the tsarist government was providing the Church in North America with about $80,000 annually for its missionary work. As a result, by 1914 some 60,000 Greek Catholics in North America had converted to Russian Orthodoxy. Many believed themselves to be "Russians."

The Russian Orthodox Church was able to expand rapidly among Ukrainian settlers in the USA and Canada because a large proportion of its missionaries spoke Ukrainian, having been born and educated in Russian Ukraine. Others were Galician Russophiles who had been educated in theological seminaries in Russia or the USA. Moreover, the Russian Orthodox service was almost identical to the Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic services to which the immigrants had been accustomed. The fact that the typical Ukrainian peasant immigrant from Austria-Hungary, especially the Bukovynian, felt no sense of national antagonism to Russians prior to 1914, also facilitated expansion. Finally, Russian Orthodoxy was especially attractive to the settlers because the Russian Orthodox missionaries made few financial demands on the immigrants and did not require the incorporation of parish property with the hierarchy of their Church. As may be imagined, the financial consideration was especially important during the early pioneer years.

The Russian Orthodox Church expanded most rapidly in Canada between 1905 and 1911 during the tenure of Archpriest Arsenii Chekhovtsev in Winnipeg and then in Edmonton. A charismatic preacher of Kirghiz origin, who had spent a number of years in Pennsylvania, Chekhovtsev spoke some Ukrainian.[16] In Alberta he was able to convert Ukrainian Greek Catholic parishes at Rabbit Hill, Bufford, Eastgate and a number of other communities to Russian Orthodoxy. He also published Kanadiiskaia niva (The Canadian Field), a bi-monthly newspaper which featured transcripts of Arsenii's sermons and a strong dose of Russophile propaganda. The paper was edited by a committee of Russophiles organized in Edmonton by Chekhovtsev in 1907.[17] Plans were also made to establish a student residence dedicated to the memory of Ivan Naumovych, a prominent nineteenth century Galician Russophile. Before this project could be realized Chekhovtsev left the country, frustrated in his efforts to be named Russian Orthodox Bishop of Canada. Apparently he did not get along with Archbishop Platon Rozhdestvenskii, who had succeeded Tikhon in 1907. Alexander Nemylovsky, who was appointed Canadian Bishop at this time resided in the USA and made infrequent visits to Canada. He was a Russified Ukrainian from the province of Volhynia in the Russian Empire who nevertheless tolerated expressions of Ukrainianism.

After Chekhovtsev's departure Russian Orthodoxy was aggressively promoted in east central Alberta by the Russophile circle in Edmonton. Composed primarily of Galician immigrants from the district of Brody, where the Russophiles had consistently elected representatives to the Galician sejm, the circle published a weekly, Russkii golos (The Russian Voice), between 1913 and 1916 when the Church and the Russophile movement in Alberta were at the height of their influence. Like Kanadiiskaia niva the paper was printed in the etymological script favoured by the Russophiles, proclaimed the slogan "Russia One and Indivisible--One Russian Orthodox Nation!," and refused to recognize the existence of a Ukrainian people distinct from the Russians. Indeed, so intransigent were the editors of Russkii golos that they came into conflict with Bishop Alexander Nemylovsky, who urged them to use the phonetic script with which most Ukrainians were familiar. This incited the editors to appeal directly to Archbishop Evdokym, who had succeeded Platon in 1914 and was notorious for his opposition to "Ukrainian separatism." The Alberta Russophiles promoted Archpriest Adam Phillipovsky, a Galician Russophile, as a suitable successor to Alexander.

By 1917 the Russian Orthodox Chuch could boast 62 priests, 66 churches, 3 monasteries and about 30 to 40 mission stops in Canada. Of these, 9 priests (including 3 monks), 16 churches, 1 monastery and 12 mission stops were located in east central Alberta.[18] A Russophile/Russian Orthodox almanac published in late 1917 insisted that "in all respects our prospects are best in Alberta."[19] The Holy Trinity-Ascension of Christ Monastery was located at Wostok and housed three ordained monks. Priests were also stationed at Boian, Star, Rabbit Hill, Mundare, Shandro and Smoky Lake. The central portion of the bloc settlement from Star to Brosseau and north to the CNR 1917-line was the stronghold of Russian Orthodoxy. It was mostly populated by Bukovynians, although Township 56, Ranges 18-19, at the western tip, was populated by Galicians who had converted from Greek Catholicism. There were also Russian Orthodox congregations near Chipman and Mundare composed of former Galician Greek Catholics.

In spite of its impressive gains, the Russian Orthodox Church in Alberta was characterized by a fairly unstable, sometimes poorly educated clergy, and by a lack of educational facilities. Because there were no Russian Orthodox theological seminaries in Canada most priests were Russian or American-educated missionaries who sooner or later experienced a desire to return home. To solve this problem small private seminaries were established by priests in their own homes (in Montreal and Buffalo, N.Y.) to train Canadian priests. A number of these seminarians--including Leontii Zubach and Alexander Kyziun who served in east central Alberta--were literate labourers who were ordained after studying for a few months under the supervision of a priest. The only attempt to establish a Russian Orthodox parochial school was made by Rev. Panteleimon Bozhyk, a Russian Orthodox priest of Bukovynian origin, in Mundare in 1916. The school closed its doors within five months. A Russian Orthodox nunnery and orphanage existed in Shandro.

C. The Independent Greek Church and Ukrainian Presbyterian Congregations

The Independent Greek Church was the brainchild of three educated Radical immigrants--Cyril Genik, Ivan Bodrug and Ivan Negrych--from the village of Bereziv Nyzhnyi in the district of Kolomyia.[20] The three were shocked by the apparent lack of moral and ethical standards among many of the culturally neglected peasant immigrants; by the purely ritualistic quality of their religion; and by the persistence of superstitions and folk beliefs. They were also determined to prevent the clergy--especially Russian Orthodox and Roman Catholic missionaries, but also Greek Catholic priests--from exercising an undue degree of influence in Ukrainian communities in the New World. Favourably impressed by the "rational, ethical, and intellectual" quality of Presbyterianism, the three men approached the faculty at Manitoba College, a Presbyterian institution in Winnipeg, and expressed a desire to propagate the principles of evangelical Protestantism among Ukrainian immigrants.

In 1903, the formation of the "Seraphymite Church"[21] presented them with an opportunity to realize their objective. After being ordained ministers of the Church by its eccentric founder--Stefan Ustvolsky, an Orthodox monk who had come from Mount Athos without the authorization of any Orthodox Bishop--Bodrug and Negrych approached their Presbyterian mentors and proposed to reform the Seraphymite movement from within in accordance with Protestant principles. Then, secretly, in collaboration with Presbyterian divines, they drafted a charter for what ultimately became the Independent Greek Church.

Although the charter allowed for the retention of the Byzantine rite for the time being, the Church was to be organized and administered democratically and its ministers were to espouse evangelical principles in their sermons. A synod comprised of clergymen and elected laymen from each congregation was to meet at one to three year intervals in order to elect a consistory. Congregations were to be governed by three elected lay elders and the minister, and ministers could be dismissed by the congregation. Church property was to be administered by elected lay trustees. In January 1904, after having recruited a number of relatively educated immigrants into the Seraphymite ministry, Bodrug and his followers held a convention, adopted the charter prepared the previous year, formally dissociated themselves from the Seraphymite movement, and announced the formation of the Independent Greek Church.

In 1905 a weekly, Ranok (The Morning), was established to serve as the Church's organ, and the Presbyterians were persuaded to establish classes at Manitoba College for Ukrainians who expressed a desire to become Independent Greek Church ministers. By 1907, 2,484 families in the three Prairie provinces identified themselves as members of the Church and another 948 families sympathized with the movement.[22] The Church had 24 active missionaries, 11 of whom worked full-time and received $480 annually from the Presbyterian Home Mission Board. Seven part-time missionaries served about 250 families in eight communities in east central Alberta.[23] In the years that followed, Edmonton and the Krakow-Sniatyn-Zawale region became strongholds of the movement.

The founders of the Church believed that the introduction of Protestantism would help change the peasant immigrants' values, perceptions and lifestyle. It would act as a stimulus for the acquisition of literacy; it would foster self-reliance by dispensing with clerical tutelage and by minimizing social distinctions between laity and clergy; and, by inveighing against moral lapses rather than against the failure to comply with ritual observances and customs, it would encourage the personal discipline, and the habits required by the peasant immigrants if they were to succeed in the New World. Only when sobriety and self-mastery were internalized would the demoralized, superstitious and fatalistic peasants be transformed into self-respecting, rational and active citizens.

The relations of the Independent Greek Church with its Presbyterian sponsors were strained almost from the outset. Bodrug and his associates hoped the Church would become an agency of spiritual and secular enlightenment. They envisioned the process whereby the Church would be converted to Protestantism as a long-term enterprise lasting 15 to 25 years and contingent upon the spread of literacy and education. Although they advocated "assimilation"--by which they meant conversion to

Protestantism, the eradication of obsolete peasant habits and perceptions, and the rejection of blind allegiance to traditon--they did not see eye to eye with most of their Presbyterian mentors. The latter regarded conversion to Protestantism as the first step toward the absorption of Ukrainians into a culturally homogeneous English-speaking Canadian nation. When the Independent Greek Church failed to produce a mass of converts and to further narrow assimilationist objectives the Presbyterians abandoned the project in the fall of 1912. Ukrainian ministers and those congregations which chose to convert to Presbyterianism, and which could be financially self-sufficient, were absorbed into the Presbyterian Church of Canada. All financial assistance was withdrawn from the others. Thereafter the Presbyterians concentrated on rural school homes in which they attempted to isolate and socialize a loyal immigrant elite with their culture, values and ideology (see section 3 below).[24]

Alberta, with its large, conservative Bukovynian population, its adequate supply of Russian Orthodox priests, and its zealous contingent of Ukrainian Greek Catholic Basilians, did not become a major centre for the short-lived Church as did Saskatchewan and Manitoba. Nevertheless, the Independent Greek Church in Alberta attracted some of the best educated and most able settlers in the bloc settlement. Men like Peter Svarich, Paul Rudyk and Gregory Krickersky (Hryhorii Kraikivsky) had been exposed to Radicalism in Galicia and were prominent leaders of Ukrainian cultural, economic an political life in east central Alberta. Roman Gonsett (Gonsky), who became a major innovator in the field of radio, telephone and photo technology in the USA a few decades later, was also a member of the Church.[25] These men and others like them were unwilling to submit to the paternalistic tutelage of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic clergy. In 1911 they established th first reformed (Presbyterian) Ukrainian Canadian congregation in Edmonton, and, except for Svarich, remained Presbyterians until the end of their lives.

In 1917 there were seven Ukrainian Presbyterian ministers, serving nine congregations with almost 600 members in east central Alberta. The congregations were located in Musidora, Krakow, Zawale, Sniatyn, Andrew, Kahwin, Slawa (two), and Primula.[26]

D. The Greek Catholic Church

The first Basilian priests--Revs. Platonid Filas, Sozont Dydyk and Anton Strotsky--accompanied by one lay brother and four nuns of the Order of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate arrived in Edmonton on 1 November 1902. Filas was recalled in 1905 to become the Superior of the Order in Galicia while Strotsky was transferred to the USA. Between 1905 and 1909 Revs. Atanasii Fylypiv and Ivan Tymochko worked with Rev. Dydyk in Alberta. When Tymochko, an asthmatic, died in 1909 he was replaced by Rev. Navkrytii Kryzhanovsky while Fylypiv was sent to Winnipeg. In 1912 Rev. Vasyl Ladyka who had arrived from Galicia in 1909 and completed his theological training at the Grande Seminaire in Montreal, joined Dydyk and Kryzhanovsky. The last missionary to arrive prior to 1920 was Rev. Philippe Ruh an Oblate who had transferred to the Byzantine rite.

After building a simple residence at Beaver Lake, three miles south east of Mundare, the Basilians began to hold services in private homes throughout the western and southern sections of the bloc settlement where Galician Greek Catholics predominated. By 1914, 33 Greek Catholic churches had been constructed in east central Alberta and by 1918 their number had grown to 40.[27] The Sisters Servants, whose numbers had increased to nine by 1910, opened two day schools in 1905.[28] One was located in provisional quarters in the Basilian chapel at Beaver Lake. Sixty pupils were enrolled, 30 of whom lived with the nuns. In 1913 a two storey convent was built in Mundare. The convent housed an orphanage and a school in which nuns, qualified under the school laws of Alberta, taught. Up to 70 children resided in the school and 130 others attended as day students. The second school was located in a house in Edmonton. In 1910 it was moved to a new school and convent built with money provided by Bishop Legal and a Catholic missionary society. In 1918 it became a regular state school.

Although they were greeted with joy by many immigrants, the Basilians did not manage to still apprehensions about what was to become of the Greek Catholic Church in Canada. There were a number of reasons for the Basilians' failure to win over all of the settlers. Few of the settlers had seen celibate Basilian monks in Galicia and suspected them of being "latinizers", "Jesuits", and agents of the Roman Catholic hierarchy if not of the Polish aristocracy itself. Many yearned for missionaries like the more worldly married secular priests whom they had known in Galicia. The latter had frequently been more actively involved in cultural and educational work than in their purely pastoral functions.[29] In Alberta, the Basilians, confronted by Russian Orthodox and Independent Greek Church missionaries, concentrated almost exclusively upon preserving the immigrants' allegiance to the Catholic Church. Three Basilians among thousands of immigrants scattered over an area of a few thousand square miles could do no more than look after the spiritual needs of their flock. The fact that the Basilians subordinated themselves to the Roman Catholic bishop and advised the settlers to incorporate their parish property with the bishop or with their Order also alienated many immigrants. Conflicts between the Basilians and the faithful developed in Borszczow, Hilliard Farm, Ispas, Wostok and elsewhere.[30]

Whatever their shortcomings may have been, the Basilians had no intention of subordinating the Greek Catholic Church to the Roman Catholic hierarchy on a permanent basis. They consistently urged the Roman Catholic hierarchy to establish a newspaper for Ukrainian Greek Catholics, and to petition the Vatican for the appointment of a Ukrainian Greek Catholic bishop. Consequently, in 1911, after Metropolitan Sheptytsky had toured Ukrainian-Canadian Greek Catholic settlements, a weekly, Kanadyiskyi rusyn (The Canadian Ruthenian), was established. The following year, Rev. Dr. Nykyta Budka, prefect of studies at the Lviv Theological Seminary, was appointed Ukrainian Greek Catholic Bishop of Canada.[31]

Although Russian Orthodox and Independent Greek Church expansion had been contained, Bishop Budka aggressively asserted the prerogatives of the Greek Catholic Church and clergy. He envisioned his own role in grand terms. In his first pastoral letter he described himself as "the

Moses and Aaron of the Canadian Ruthenians, sent to them in response to their prayers to . . . lead them, defend and protect them, be all things for all men in this foreign land . . . ."[32] He then went on to assert that "the organization of the Ruthenians in Canada as a single people cannot be imagined in any manner except through the Church . . . those who support their Greek Catholic Bishop . . . constitute the core of the nation . . . they alone are not a party but the nation."[33] Shortly thereafter a charter was obtained for the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Episcopal Corporation and all Greek Catholic parishes were told to incorporate their church buildings with the Corporation.

Finding himself isolated from radical, educated immigrants--even those still formally within the Greek Catholic fold--the Bishop recruited a number of priests in Galicia and invited a few conservative Galician intellectuals to assist him in his work. Some of the latter, especially the editors of Kanadyiskyi rusyn (1913-16), did much to alienate even moderate immigrant leaders, especially the school teachers, from the Greek Catholic Church. Openly referring to these lay leaders as "illiterate herdsmen" who should submit themselves to the authority of priests "with a university education" and fall in line behind Bishop Budka, "the most eminent of all Canadian Ruthenians", they engendered a great deal of resentment and ill-will.[34]

In November 1914 at a synod of the Greek Catholic clergy a set of "Regulations" (Pravyla) was adopted by which the Greek Catholic Church was to be governed in Canada. The regulations were not made known to the general public. They stipulated that Greek Catholic parents who sent their children to non-Catholic schools--where Catholic schools existed--were to be refused dispensation of sins; forbade Greek Catholics to marry outside the faith unless the non-Catholic spouse promised to raise the children in the Catholic faith; and, they instructed priests to "paralyze . . . the malicious separation of the national life from the influence of the Church and priest" and to "remind the people not to vote for those who may harm the Church."[35] During the next few years the Bishop and his clergy proceeded to act in accordance with these regulations precipitating a full blown rebellion within the Greek

Catholic Church in 1918.

In 1918 the Greek Catholic Church had 17 secular priests, nine ordained monks and 160 parishes in Canada. Of these, three Basilian monks and one French-speaking Oblate, Rev. Philippe Ruh, ministered to 40 parishes in east central Alberta.[36]

The Church During the 1920s

World War I, the Russian Revolution, the struggle for Ukrainian independence, and Anglo-Canadian hostility towards Ukrainians, who were perceived to be "enemy aliens" and "reds", all had serious repercussions for the various Churches in Canada. The fall of the tsarist regime in Russia in 1917 and the subsequent conquest of power by the Bolsheviks was a serious blow for the Russian Orthodox Church in North America. The Church lost its financial backing and was rent by divisions along national and political lines. Now that the hierarchy of the Russian Orthodox Church in Russia was at the mercy of the Bolsheviks, non-Russian groups like the Syrians, Greeks, Serbs, etc., who had previously recognized the authority of the Russian Archibishop of the Aleutian Islands and North America, established their own dioceses under the jurisdiction of one or another of the Orthodox Patriarchs. Among Russians (and Ukrainians) a dispute arose over whether or not to recognize the hierarchy of the mother Church in Soviet Russia. In 1920 post-revolutionary political émigrés "who unequivocally rejected any association with Soviet-ruled Russia founded the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia".[37] Its headquarters were established in Yugoslavia. The old immigrants, most of them Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox Ukrainians and Carpatho-Rusyns from Austria-Hungary continued to support the Archbishop of the Aleutian Islands and North America, and in 1924 decided to remain loyal to the Church hierarchy in Russia. The fact that Tikhon Beliavin, who had set the diocese on its feet between 1898 and 1907, was the newly appointed Patriarch of Moscow no doubt influenced this decision. However, the old immigrants insisted that the Church in North America receive the status of an autonomous Metropolitan district.

It came to be popularly known as the Metropolia although in 1924 the Diocese of the Aleutian Islands and North America was formally renamed the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church in America. Finally, a number of parishes in North America continued to express complete loyalty to the Church in Russia even after it became apparent that it had been subordinated completely to the state. To accommodate these parishes a Russian Orthodox Catholic Church in America (the Patriarchal Exarchate) was established in 1933. During the 1920s conflicts between and within these factions would bedevil the Russian Orthodox Church.

Although the Independent Greek Church had lost its Presbyterian sponsors by 1913, a number of the congregations had survived, while others had joined the Presbyterian Church. Outbursts of Anglo-Canadian nativism during and immediately after WWI did little to advance the Presbyterian and Protestant cause within the Ukrainian community. By 1918 the Church's prospects among Ukrainians were bleak.

The most serious setback during these years was suffered by the Greek Catholic Church. The intransigent and sometimes tactless behaviour of Bishop Budka and his closest associates drove representatives of the secular intelligentsia--primarily Galician Greek Catholics--to break with the Church and establish the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada. The Church was called into being almost six months before the formation of an autocephalous Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, independent of the Patriarch of Moscow, in Ukraine. During the 1920s the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada slowly expanded as Greek Catholic, Russian Orthodox and Independent Greek Church/Presbyterian congregations opted to join the new institution. In east central Alberta, as elsewhere in Canada, Ukrainian communities and families were divided as the religious question agitated the settlers.

E. The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church

Efforts to establish a network of student residences (bursy) had brought the secular intelligentsia into conflict with the Greek Catholic hierarchy shortly after the outbreak of WWI. In 1915 the Adam Kotsko residence was established in Winnipeg and the following year the Petro Mohyla Ukrainian Institute was established in Saskatoon. Both residences were founded on secular and national, rather than denominational principles. Ukrainian university and high school students regardless of their religious views were accepted; provisions for visits by clergymen of all denominations were made; and, the residences were not incorporated with the Greek Catholic Episcopal Corporation. The Catholic Church and clergy reacted by rejecting residences which were "simply concerned with Ukrainianism" because these were sure to become "recruiting centres and agencies of godlessness."[38] When the administration of the Mohyla Institute ignored Bishop Budka's demands to incorporate the residence with the Episcopal Corporation, and then, pointed out that the Corporation's charter provided the Bishop with unrestricted powers (subject only to Papal intervention) and failed to guarantee that only Ukrainians would be appointed to the Episcopacy of the Greek Catholic Church in Canada, a clerical campaign was launched against the Institute and its founders. Greek Catholics were forbidden, under the threat of being deprived of the sacraments, to offer any assistance to the Institute.[39]

Bishop Budka's campaign finally led to open revolt. In June 1918, a closed meeting of 150 delegates from across Western Canada was held in Saskatoon. The meeting had been endorsed and convoked by a "national committee" of 30 prominent immigrants. A middle class group, it was composed of teachers, young professionals, established farmers and businessmen. Alberta was represented by Tymko Goshko (farmer), J.J. Ruryk (teacher), A.T. Kibzey (medical student), S.B. Mykytiuk (teacher), Peter Svarich (businessman) and M. Sutkowych (farmer).[40] The meeting condemned the Bishop's intollerant behaviour and high handed clericalism, and established a Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Brotherhood which was to organize a Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada. The Church was to accept the dogma and rites of the Orthodox Churches; priests were to marry before ordination; all congregations were to retain control of their property; priests were to be appointed and dismissed only with the consent of their congregations; and bishops were to be elected by the clergy and lay delegates at a synod (sobor) of the Church. The democratic synodal form of government prevalent within the Orthodox Church, which allowed for national diversity and facilitated extensive participation by the laity appealed to the Church's nationalistic middle class founders. They also insisted that unlike the Greek Catholic or Uniate Church, which had been imposed upon a small fragment of the Ukrainian people during the Counter-reformation, Greek Orthodoxy had been the "ancestral" faith of the Ukrainian people.

In November 1919 the new Church was placed under the wing of Metropolitan Germanos Shegedi, primate of the newly constituted Syrian Orthodox Church in the USA, until a Ukrainian bishop could be elected. Seminary classes for clergy were conducted in Saskatoon for one year and in March 1920 the first three married priests graduated and were ordained by Metropolitan Germanos. They joined the handful of Ukrainian priests who had left the Russian Orthodox Church for the new Church, as well as clergymen who had left the Greek Catholic and Russian Orthodox Churches in Ukraine to join the new Church.[41] Finally, in July 1924 Archbishop Ivan Theodorovich, a Bishop of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church formed in 1919 in Ukraine, and newly elected head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the USA, was elected Bishop of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada. Simultaneously the Church synod decided to replace Old Church Slavonic with Ukrainian in the liturgy. A permanent seminary to train clergymen was established in Winnipeg in 1932. However, because Theodorovich and the rest of the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church had been elected by a synod of priests and laymen at which no (Russian) Orthodox bishops had been present to ordain them into the episcopacy by the laying on of hands, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church ultimately failed to win the recognition of any of the Orthodox Patriarchs. This does not seem to have bothered its founders to any great extent.[42]

The first Ukrainian Greek Orthodox congregation in Alberta was established at Suchava. A Russian Orthodox church and parish--St. Michael's--had been established in 1904 in this predominantly Bukovynian district near Andrew.[43] When the Russian Orthodox pastor, Father

Afanasii, left the parish in 1919, members of the Suchava congregation petitioned the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox brotherhood to provide a Ukrainian Greek Orthodox pastor. In 1920 Rev. Dmytro Stratychuk, one of the first three theology graduates, arrived. On Easter Sunday, 29 March 1920, he sang the first Mass. For the next four years the parish remained under the control of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. However, when Ukrainian replaced Old Church Slavonic as the language of the liturgy in 1924, the more conservative parishioners rebelled. A court case ensued after which control of St. Michael's church was awarded to the (Russian Orthodox) faction that opposed the use of Ukrainian in the liturgy. The Ukrainian Orthodox faction was obliged to establish its own parish, St. John's. Services were held in private homes and halls for a decade before a church was constructed.

By 1928-29 over twenty congregations had been organized in Alberta--primarily in the bloc settlement and along its fringes. At Boriwtsi (Borowick), Kahwin, Szypenitz, Cadron and Luzan/Pruth near Willingdon, a faction or the entire Russian Orthodox congregation went over to the new Church. A lengthy and bitter struggle usually accompanied the process. By the late 1920s trouble was also brewing in the Russian Orthodox parishes at Ispas and Mamaestie. In Sniatyn/Zawale, Sich-Kolomea/Vegreville, and Hemaruka congregations that had been associated with the Independent Greek Church joined the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. Disaffected Greek Catholics established Ukrainian Greek Orthodox congregations in Downing, Peno, Bruderheim, Spas Muskalyk, Radway/Eldorena and Jaroslaw. By 1930 congregations had also been established in Smoky Lake, Hamlin and a number of other rural communities and railroad towns.[44]

Rev. Stratychuk and Rev. Volodymyr Kashiw were the first Ukrainian Greek Orthodox missionaries in east central Alberta. They were soon transferred and replaced by Rev. Ivan Kusy, who had orignally been one of three Ukrainian priests associated with the National Apostolic Catholic Church, an independent Polish sect that had broken with Rome;[45] Rev. Dmytro Seneta, a former Greek Catholic priest in the Diocese of Stanyslaviv, Galicia; and Rev. Petro Bilon, an Orthodox priest who had emigrated from Ukraine after serving as a chaplain in the army of the UNR. Revs. A.T. Horbai, T.D. Volokhatiuk, I. Maiba and E. Olendii also served in Alberta prior to 1930.[46] At no time prior to 1930 were there more than four Ukrainian Greek Orthodox priests in Alberta. In 1924, two of the Church's 11 priests were stationed in the province; in 1928/29 four of 19 were stationed in Alberta. Unlike Greek Catholic and Russian Orthodox priests, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox priests were expected to participate actively in the social and cultural life of their communities. In this respect their task was lightened by the fact that the men and women who organized their parishes or congregations were usually the same people who had established "reading rooms . . . in their homes, built National Homes, initiated the organization of school districts, and enlisted the willing and valuable cooperation of teachers in the cultural activities of the community."[47]

Although the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church won converts in Alberta, its expansion in this province was much less impressive than it was in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. In Alberta the Russian Orthodox Church was still fairly well anchored among the conservative Bukovynian population while the Greek Catholic Church led by the Ukrainian Basilians was more resilient than it was in the other two provinces where Belgian Redemptorists and French-Canadian Oblates had constituted a high proportion of the clergy well into the 1920s. Consequently the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, with its strong appeal to Ukrainian national sentiment, attracted the intelligentsia and the businessmen, who were concentrated in the railroad towns, and some of the more prosperous farmers. T.C. Byrne, who studied the bloc settlment in 1937, concluded that the stronghold of the Church in east central Alberta was located in two townships northwest of Vegreville, between Royal Park and Spring Creek. Aside from these two townships the Church was stronger north of the North Saskatchewan River where its parishes were concentrated in railroad towns. Most of the parishes had been organized by local businessmen. If the Church was relatively weak in numbers in 1930, it was strong in leaders, businessmen and professional men.[48] This arugered well for its prospects in the future.

F. The Russian Orthodox Church (II)

The history of the Russian Orthodox Church in North America during the inter-war period consists of a series of bewildering conflicts guaranteed to confuse and beguile historians. Nevertheless it is possible to obtain some idea of the conflicts which divided the Church in east central Alberta.[49]

It will be recalled that by 1917 the circle of Galician Russophiles which had emerged around the weekly Russkii golos had come into conflict with Bishop Alexander Nemylovsky, the Russian Orthodox primate in Canada. The Russophiles championed one of their own--Archpriest Adam Phillipovsky (1881-1956)--as a successor to Alexander. During the next decade the conflict continued to smoulder, periodically bursting into flames, then subsiding again. Throughout this period Adam and his Galician Russophile supporters opposed the hierarchy of the Russian Orthodox Church in North America. Between 1919 and 1921 they were in conflict with Bishop Alexander who had become acting head of the Diocese of the Aleutian Islands and North America after the departure of Archbishop Evdokym. Thereafter they opposed Archbishop Platon Rozhdestvenskii, who returned to North America in 1922 and headed the Diocese, or the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church in America as it was called from 1924.

The conflict focused on Adam and his claims. In 1922, during the interval between Alexander's departure and Platon's arrival, Adam had managed to have himself ordained a bishop by Bishop Pavlik of Slovakia and Bishop Dziubai, Alexander's vicar in the United States. Adam claimed to represent the "Carpatho-Russians" of Canada--his euphemysm for the Galician and Bukovynian Ukrainians who belonged to the Russian Orthodox Church in Canada.[50] Together with his associates he accused the Russian primates--Alexander and Platon--of making too many concessions to Ukrainianism within the Russian Orthodox Church. It is ironic that Galician Russophiles should claim to be better "Russians" than the Russians themselves, but this was the case.

The conflict between Adam and Platon was especially heated between

1922 and 1926. Platon refused to recognize the canonical validity of Adam's episcopal ordination. Adam insisted that Platon had not been authorized by Patriarch Tikhon to assume control of the Diocese of the Aleutian Islands and North America or its successor the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of America. After dragging one another through the courts Platon emerged victorious in 1925 and Adam was forced to retreat. He left for Europe where a compromise was arranged: Adam was recognized as a bishop and admitted into the Russian Orthodox Diocese of Poland by Metropolitan Dionysius after surrendering his claims to primacy in Canada. Arsenii Chekhovtsev, who had first worked in Canada between 1905 and 1911, was ordained bishop and sent to Canada as Platon's representative. However, he was not accepted by many of Adam's followers and Adam himself had returned to North America by 1930.[51]

Throughout the 1920s the Russian Orthodox Church in Canada was divided between followers of Adam and followers of Platon (and his representative Arsenii). In 1926, according to Bozhyk, Platon held the allegiance of 27 priests, while 13 priests remained loyal to Adam. Most of Adam's support came from Alberta and Saskatchewan where about 35 congregations recognized his claims. His support was strongest in those Russian Orthodox parishes which were composed of former Galician Greek Catholics who had converted to Russian Orthodoxy as a result of Russophile influence. In east central Alberta Adam's following seems to have been concentrated in the Russian Orthodox congregations in and around Edmonton, Peno, Rabbit Hill, Skaro, Star, Mundare, Chipman, Farus (north of Mundare) and Warwick--all of them in the southwestern section of the bloc settlement populated by Galicians who had been Greek Catholics upon their arrival in Canada. A number of these congregations were themselves divided over Adam's and Platon's claims. Intimidation and physical violence were not unknown.[52] The Bukovynian congregations, on the other hand, seem to have ignored the conflict. They supported Platon and Arsenii or hoped that things would work themselves out.[53]

The conflict within the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of America did much to undermine the prestige of Russian Orthodoxy. The innumerable conflicts and competing claims which shook the Russian Orthodox Church outside Canada and the USA had a similar effect. Both contributed to the conversion of some Russian Orthodox congregations to the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. The incessant conflicts also led to the departure of a number of priests. The most prominent of these "apostates" was Rev. Panteleimon Bozhyk, the Bukovynian-born pastor of a Russian Orthodox parish near Mundare. Bozhyk was a nationally conscious Ukrainian with a strong respect for hierarchy and order. When he left the Russian Orthodox Church in 1924 he joined the Greek Catholic Church rather than the "upstart" Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. The fact that the Russian Orthodox Church still had no permanent seminary in Canada also contributed to its decline. Nor did it have an effective press. The conflict between Adam and Platon/Arsenii gave birth to two competing weeklies. Druh naroda (1926-30) published in Edmonton and Star, Alberta, supported Adam, although by 1930 it was becoming sceptical about his claims. Kanadiiskii pravoslavnyi misioner (The Canadian Orthodox Missionary) (1926-28), published in Edmonton and Winnipeg, supported Platon and Arsenii. Both were initially published in Russian and militantly anti-Ukrainian in tone. However, both were obliged to become bilingual within a matter of months. By 1929 Druh naroda was even publishing letters from subscribers who asserted that they were Ukrainians who simply happened to belong to the Russian Orthodox Church--not Russians.[54]

In Alberta the Russian Orthodox Church weathered the storm better than anywhere else. The Shandro area was the strongest bastion of Russian Orthodoxy in east central Alberta but the other Bukovynian districts also remained strongly Russian Orthodox in affiliation. They included the Andrew, Willingdon and Kaleland region in the centre of the bloc settlement. In the north, along the CNR-1917 line the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church had won converts in Smoky Lake and some of the railroad towns to the east. However, the farmers in the surrounding rural areas remained relatively impervious to the new Church's appeal to Ukrainian national sentiment.[55] They were firmly attached to the Russian Orthodox Church because their relatives were buried in Russian

Orthodox cemeteries. The Russian Orthodox Church was also strong in the Wostok-Skaro-Peno-Rodef area populated by Galicians. Congregations also survived in Chipman and a few miles north of Mundare.

Writing in 1937, T.C. Byrne concluded that inspite of its large numbers--the majority of the 19,300 Albertans listed under "Greek Orthodox" in the 1931 census--the prospects of the Russian Orthodox Church in Alberta were bleak. While Russian Orthodox priests continued to insist that there were no Ukrainians, the Ukrainian press had convinced most settlers that they were Ukrainians who were distinct from ethnic Russians.[56] Moreover, the Russian Orthodox priests were poorly educated and lethargic when compared to Ukrainian Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic clergymen. Finally, by the 1930s there was no secular intelligentsia capable of providing leadership within the Russian Orthodox community and its parishes. Church members were almost exclusively farmers.[57]

G. The Greek Catholic Church (II)

The Greek Catholic Church was at its nadir in Canada and east central Alberta during the 1920s. While over 20 Ukrainian Greek Orthodox congregations were being organized in east central Alberta, many of them composed of disaffected Greek Catholics, only four Greek Catholic congregations were organized in Alberta between 1918 and 1930, and only one of these--in Lethbridge--was organized after 1921. Many congregations were thrown into turmoil by the religious controversy which was well publicized on the pages of Kanadyiskyi ukrainets, the Catholic organ, and Ukrainskyi holos, which championed the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. In fact, polemics in Kanadyiskyi ukrainets against the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church became so bitter that they resulted in a libel suit. When the paper was unable to pay a $7000 fine it was sold and eventually ceased publication in 1927.[58] The Church was left without a weekly. That year Bishop Budka, ill and depressed, was summoned to Rome and Lviv. He did not return to Canada.

Nevertheless, during the 1920s the foundations for a Greek

Catholic revival were being laid in east central Alberta. In 1922 a Basilian novitiate was opened in Mundare for young boys who wished to dedicate themselves to the monastic life. A number of Basilian pedagogues were recruited in Galicia to provide instruction. By 1930 a seminary was in operation. The last Galician-born and educated Basilians came to Canada between 1930 and 1933. The first Canadian-born and educated Basilian priests were ordained in 1932 and 1933.[59] During the 1930s a new generation of Canadian-born and educated Basilians assumed responsibility for missionary activity in Alberta and to a lesser extent in other parts of Canada. The Sisters Servants also extended their work. In 1926 a new enlarged school and orphanage was built in Mundare. In 1927 a 30 bed hospital was established in the same town and six years later another hospital was opened at Willingdon.

For almost 25 years only three Basilians had served all the Ukrainian Greek Catholics in Alberta. By 1928 there were nine Greek Catholic priests in Alberta--six Basilians and three secular priests. Only two of the secular priests, in Lethbridge and Calgary, were stationed outside east central Alberta.[60] By 1940 there were 23 Basilian priests and two secular priests in Alberta. During the previous decade 30 new parishes and almost as many mission stations had been organized, primarily in the Peace River district and along the fringe of the bloc settlement. Although Alberta, with its large Bukovynian Orthodox population, still had fewer Greek Catholic parishes (77) than either Manitoba (130) or Saskatchewan (109), it was becoming a Catholic stronghold.[61] From 1929, the only Ukrainian Greek Catholic weekly in Canada, Ukrainski visti (The Ukrainian News) was published in Edmonton. Bishop Vasyl Ladyka, appointed in 1929 to succeed Bishop Budka, was a Basilian who had worked in east central Alberta for the preceding 17 years.

Within the bloc settlement the Greek Catholic Church was strong in the west around Radway and Leeshore, in the south between Chipman and Mundare, and in the east, especially in the region stretching east from Two Hills to Clandonald.[62]

3. The Protestant Missions

The arrival of 12,000 Ukrainians in 1898, half of them bound for east central Alberta, threw the local Methodist clergy and their faithful into a panic. "In the Edmonton area . . . the Methodist district meeting . . . requested the Church's Manitoba and Northwest Conference to petition the Canadian government 'not to encourage' additional Galician immigration."[63] The Conference denied this request, but it decided to secure colporteurs and missionaries for work among Ukrainian immigrants. By 1901 the first Methodist missionary was active among Ukrainian immigrants in east central Alberta. On the eve of WWI there were 31 full and part-time missionaries, including 4 Ukrainians, working in seven mission centres in Alberta.[64] Unlike the Methodists, the Presbyterians focused their home missionary activity on the Ukrainian population in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. But by 1910, they too were involved in missionary work among the Ukrainians of east central Alberta.

A. Missionary Activity to 1918

Protestant missionaries perceived Ukrainian immigrants as a threat to their vision of Canada as "the greater Britain beyond the seas" which was destined to "Christianize the world". In the first place, they believed that "the Ukrainian's traditional church life was inferior and that his morality was correspondingly weak."[65] Ukrainian immigrants were "nominal Christians." They had been "lashed into submission" by priests who imbibed intoxicating spirits, retailed stories of saints and hell fire, and spent all their time "carrying out elaborately devised ceremonials and ritualistic observances" instead of teaching the ethical precepts of Christianity.[66] As a result Ukrainian settlers erected churches, observed an infinite number of fasts and Church holidays, attended lengthy liturgical services and dutifully performed a variety of rituals. However, they lacked all sense of "practical Christianity." While such apprehensions were not entirely groundless, Protestant missionaries failed to understand why the morality of peasant immigrants was "weak." If peasant immigrants were deceitful, intemperate and inconsiderate toward their neighbours it was not because they were being held in "bondage" by the clergy, but because scarcity, isolation and exploitation were the basic facts of life as they knew it. To let down one's guard, to love one's neighbour, could imperil the survival of the peasant and his family.

In the second place, Ukrainians were believed to be unprepared to enjoy political rights. As a result they posed a threat to democratic institutions. As uneducated fugitives from absolutism they might "use their newfound liberty as a 'licence to do evil' or to sell their vote to the highest bidder."[67] That the votes were almost always purchased by corrupt Protestant politicians was of less concern to the missionaries. What especially concerned them was that in the absence of priests to keep them in check, Ukrainian immigrants would be susceptible to the appeals of radical socialist and atheist agitators.

Finally, Protestant missionaries were alarmed by the persistence of the Ukrainian language and culture. The existence of bloc settlements was believed to perpetuate this problem. Not only did bloc settlements retard assimilation, they afforded an opportunity for "ambitious men of their own race, who for their own purposes desire to keep alive national sentiment and prevent absorption into the life of the Canadian nation"[68] to manipulate the settlers. These Ukrainian Riels--newspaper editors, bilingual school teachers and others--had to be stopped.

In order to save east central Alberta Methodists and Presbyterians dispatched missionaries into the bloc settlement and established hospitals, nursing centres, mission school homes, and social centres. If the ultimate objective was conversion to Protestantism and the eradication of the Ukrainian language, it was also the intention of the missionaries to "introduce new ideals in homemaking, child care, and nursing, as well as in hygiene and sanitation," provide "much needed lessons in manners and morals" and train an elite "with a view to their becoming ministers or teachers among their own people."[69]

Methodist missionary activity was concentrated in the western portion of the bloc settlment.[70] In 1901 the Rev. C.H. Lawford, MD, established a pastoral and medical mission at Pakan. Pakan was located 75 miles northeast of Edmonton on the north bank of the North Saskatchewan River in an area settled primarily by Bukovynians. A Methodist church was built in 1906, and when Lawford's home became too small for his medical practice, the George MacDougall Memorial Hospital was built in 1907. Although Lawford never learned to speak Ukrainian he remained in Pakan until 1922 when the hospital was moved north to nearby Smoky Lake.

In 1904 a mission home and school was established at Wahstao some eight or nine miles northeast of Pakan by Rita Edmonds and Jessie Munro, two Women's Missionary Society workers. Together with Edith Weeks and Ethel Chace, the female missionaries focused on the children and women. They established a day school, a Sunday school, taught in the public school established in 1907, introduced the local Ukrainian women to the domestic arts, and organized a night school for the men and boys which functioned until 1924. They also provided medical assistance and provided clothes for the needy. All four tried to learn Ukrainian in order to communicate more effectively with the settlers.

A second W.M.S. mission home was established in 1908 at Kolokreeka, 11 miles north of Pakan. A Sunday school, night school and women's meetings were organized and in 1912 a residential school was established. During the 1920s the home became a dormitory for girls attending high school in Smoky Lake. It closed its doors in 1932, five years before the Wahstao home. Both were victims of the Great Depression.

In 1911 a second pastoral mission was established at Chipman in an area settled by Galicians. Rev. J.K. Smith, a former school teacher who was determined to learn Ukrainian, was placed in charge of the mission. A year later, in 1912, a hospital was opened at Lamont, seven miles north- west of Chipman on the CNoR line. Doctors A.E. Archer and W.T. Rush were in charge of the hospital. A Ruthenian Girls' Home (1908) and a Ruthenian Boys' Home (1911) were also established in Edmonton by Miss

Munro and Rev. W.H. Pike for the benefit of young immigrants working in the city. The Girls' Home accommodated 18 to 24 boarders and offered medical care as well as English night classes. By the 1920s it had been transformed into a residence for girls attending high school. It was closed in 1937. The last Methodist school home was opened in Radway in 1921.

Presbyterian missionary activity was concentrated in the town of Vegreville. In the fall of 1906 Rev. T.A. Broadfoot organized a mission school where he taught English to about 16 boys and conducted English night classes for about 20 girls who were working in the town. In 1908/09 this work was carried on by Rev. C.D. Campbell and Miss J. MacNeil.[71] Then, between 1910 and 1914, three boys homes and one girls' home were built in Vegreville. Although a number of ladies from the Presbyterian W.M.S. acted as matrons in the homes, the mission was supervised by Rev. G. Arthur, MD, who also served as the medical missionary at the R.M. Boswell Memorial Hospital established in Vegreville in 1907. The school homes and hospital continued to operate until the outbreak of WWII.

The Protestant missions provided a number of useful services for Ukrainian settlers in east central Alberta. Because the government did not provide medical facilities for the settlers the hospitals at Pakan/Smoky Lake, Lamont and Vegreville, as well as the medical dispensaries in Wahstao and Kolokreeka filled an important need. Well into the 1920s these were the only hospitals within the bloc settlement. Prior to 1910 patients came to Pakan from as far away as Mannville, Saddle Lake, Vegreville, Skaro and Lamont. Besides providing much needed medical attention, they helped break down the Ukrainian peasant immigrants' fatalism and taught them much about hygiene and methods of child- and sick-care. The missionaries were also uniquely qualified to provide the immigrants with advice and assistance in secular matters. Lawford, for example, provided advice on how to assemble farm machinery, informed the settlers about the land laws, advised them on the formation of school districts, and wrote letters to government officials, employers and creditors.[72] The female missionaries provided sewing, knitting and quilt making lessons for the women and taught the English language in their night schools. The school homes provided an opportunity for children with no school or only a summer school in their district to receive a regular year-round education. Finally, the missionaries' efforts to inculcate the ethical principles of Christianity among the immigrants, as well as their efforts on behalf of temperance, women's rights, and sanitation, were appreciated by many of the progressive settlers who had been exposed to the ideas of the Ukrainian Radical Party in Galicia.[73]

Ultimately, however, the Protestant missionaries were interested in converting the immigrants to Protestantism and in eliminating "the idiocyncracies of race and speech." The hospitals were established to exert a "strong Canadianizing and Christianizing influence" in the bloc settlement. At Pakan all literate patients were furnished with a copy of the Scriptures, while chaplains read the Bible to those who were illiterate. Special services were held on Sundays and patients were visited once they were back at home. In addition to promoting temperance, female Methodist missionaries waged war on Sabbath desecration, which they identified with Sunday afternoon dancing. Chidren at the school homes, Methodist and Presbyterian, were obliged to sing Protestant hymns, memorize the Scriptures and attend Protestant services. At Vegreville the Home children were forbidden to attend Ukrainian weddings and encouraged to "do away with their own custom of dancing and crude forms of enjoyment."[74] Although peasant immigrant weddings often *were* violent and drunken affairs, the missionaries' blanket condemnations and their incessant concentration on the negative aspects of the Ukrainian immigrants' lifestyle only demoralized the children and encouraged them to reject their parents' heritage *in toto* and dismiss Ukrainians as "bad people."[75] "When I grow up I will teach our people to be good" a mission girl proclaimed.[76]

Protestant missionaries were also the most vociferous opponents of bilingualism in the schools and of the Ukrainian-language press. Both were obstacles to assimilation. From the Methodists' point of view the teaching of foreign languages in the schools and the foreign-language press were temporary privileges; it would only be a matter of time before the Ukrainian language disappeared altogether. Children at Kolokreeka were not allowed to speak Ukrainian even outside the classroom and were rewarded with picture postcards if they refrained from using the Ukrainian language for an entire day. When instruction was later offered in Ukrainian at Kolokreeka it was justified "by claiming that the children could carry the lessons learned at the mission to their parents."[77] The Presbyterians at Vegreville were somewhat more liberal because of their relation to the Independent Greek Church movement. Rev. Maxim Zalizniak offered Ukrainian classes: "He taught us to read and write in Ukrainian and to sing our dearly-beloved songs. We enjoyed these Ukrainian classes for we felt freer and at home. There was no one around to continually remind us to 'Speak English'."[78]

B. Ukrainian Protestants During the 1920s

The hostility engendered by WWI against Ukrainians, combined with the growth of Ukrainian national feeling and the emergence of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in 1918, effectively destroyed the slim chances Protestantism had of taking root among Ukrainian settlers. By 1914 the Methodists had won only 50 converts including Dmytro Ponich, a young Bukovynian, and Terentii Hannochko, a Ukrainian from the Kiev region of Ukraine. Both men became preachers and ministers of the Church. The Presbyterians as noted earlier had about 600 adherents in east central Alberta in 1917 but they ultimately lost some of these to the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.

Even before the Methodists and Presbyterians merged to form the United Church in 1925, they merged their Ukrainian-language weeklies Kanadyiets (The Canadian) and Ranok into Kanadyiskyi ranok (The Canadian Morning) in 1920. The weekly was published in Winnipeg and most contributors were Ukrainian Presbyterians. When the United Church was established most Ukrainian ministers joined the new institution.[79] During the 1920s and 1930s Revs. Hannochko and Ponich continued to minister to Ukrainian congregations in Lamont, Radway, Smoky Lake and

Bellis. Between 30 and 60 persons attended their services in each village. Of the Independent Greek Church ministers who had joined the Presbyterian Church after 1913, Revs. Illia Eustafievych (Elias Eustace), Theodore Bay, Ivan Hryhorash (Gregorash) and Iefrem Perih served Ukrainian congregations in Andrew/Huwen, Krakow, Zawale, Two Hills and Edmonton during all or part of the inter-war period. There was also one Ukrainian Baptist minister who served a congregation of Ukrainian Baptist immigrants.

Although they had converted to Methodism and Presbyterianism, and later joined the United Church, most Ukrainian reformed ministers were anxious to preserve the Ukrainian identity of their congregations and of the movement which they had started in North America. As a result they were rather uncomfortable within the United Church:

> A Ukrainian United Church minister made this criticism of the work of the Church among the Ukrainians. He felt that the United Church has been too eager to assimilate; that their religious program has been more social than spiritual. They have offered more Canadianism than Christ. The Church mission schools in which Ukrainian children were educated tried to assimilate their students completely.[80]

Consequently, in 1922 the Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance (Ukrainske Ievanhelske Obiednannia) was established. The Alliance brought together all Ukrainians who belonged to Evangelical Reformed Churches in North America: Baptists, Presbyterians and members of the United Church. Although it never achieved official recognition from any of these Churches, the Alliance pursued a number of projects, including missionary work in Galicia and Volhynia. In 1931 only 5,400 Ukrainians belonged to the United and Presbyterian Churches in Canada. About 810 United Church members lived in Alberta.[81]

4. The Rural School

Ukrainian settlers began to establish School Districts (SD) shortly after the turn of the century. By this time many of the immigrants were settling down to full-time farming and were in a position to assume the burden of supporting a school. Nevertheless the formation of SDs in the bloc settlement and the creation of an adequate school system was a long and drawn out affair. Some of the immigrants may have failed to appreciate the importance and the value of an education, but the chronic shortage of teachers and the Department of Education's refusal to adopt measures that might have alleviated this problem within the bloc settlement were also to blame. Consequently a 200 day school year stretching from September through June did not become common until the 1920s. By 1930 the problem had been resolved. Teachers had been guaranteed a minimum salary, the settlers were becoming relatively prosperous, improved roads made access to school easier, and high school education was readily available in the new railroad towns. During the 1930s the overwhelming majority of teachers in the bloc settlement would be Canadian-born, Alberta-educated and of Ukrainian origin.

A. The Alberta School System to 1930[82]

Roman Catholic and Methodist missionaries working among the native Indian population had established the first mission schools in Alberta in 1859 and 1862 respectively. The first publicly supported school was established in Edmonton in 1881. In 1890, 35 of the 200 SDs in the Northwest Territories were located in what was to become the province of Alberta in 1905. By the end of 1906 Alberta had 742 SDs, 924 teachers and 28,784 students. A quarter of a century later, in 1930, there were 3718 SDs, 5705 teachers and 165,076 students in the province's schools.[83]

The educational ordinances of 1901 had established a school system in which all schools were public schools obliged to follow virtually the same curriculum and regulations. Religious instruction was permitted at the end of the day and Protestant or Catholic teachers were hired according to the wishes of the majority. The minority preserved the right to establish its own "separate" school. Nevertheless, between 1905 and 1930 there were usually no more than 15 Roman Catholic separate SDs and 1 Protestant separate SD.[84] The 1901 ordinances also permitted trustees, on parental request, to employ "competent persons to give instruction in any language other than English" provided the course did not "supersede or in any way interfere with" instruction in the schools.[85] A special rate was levied on participating parents to meet any additional costs.

The operation of schools depended on local initiative. There were usually at least two SDs in each township. Each rural SD was managed by 3 trustees elected for three year terms. The trustees were responsible for selecting a site for the school; arranging for the school to be built and maintaining it and the school grounds; hiring and paying the teacher; providing fuel, equipment, books and school supplies; setting the tax rate and collecting taxes; and, enforcing the School Attendance Act. (In 1913 truant officers and school inspectors assumed this last responsibility). Under no circumstances were the trustees to be paid for their services.

Prior to 1913 the trustees were obliged to operate the school only if there were 10 children between seven and 14 years of age in the SD. Where there were 20 or more school-aged children in a SD the trustees were obliged to operate the school for at least 120 days a year. After 1913 the Department of Education had to be notified if a school was closed for any reason during the school year.

Between 1906 and 1926 the proportion of Alberta's population five to 19 years of age enrolled in schools rose from 50.8 per cent to 76.3 per cent.[86] Prior to 1918 attendance was compulsory for children between seven and 14; between 1918 and 1925 it was compulsory for those between seven and 15, even if they had completed grade VIII; and after

1926 for all those between seven and 16. School inspectors could initiate proceedings before a JP if parents refused to comply with these regulations.

The rural school year rarely exceeded 160 days before the 1920s while the average daily attendance in all of the province's rural schools hovered between 50 and 60 per cent of total enrollment. By 1930 the school year in most rural and urban SDs was about 200 days long and average daily attendance in rural SDs was about 73 per cent of total enrollment.[87]

The programme of instruction in Alberta schools was divided into 8 "standards" before 1912. Elementary education was provided in standards I-V while standards VI-VIII were the equivalent of high school. In 1912 the modern 12 grade system was introduced. Elementary education was provided in grades I-VIII while a high school education was obtained in grades IX-XII. Throughout the period under consideration most of the school population was enrolled in the elementary grades, especially grades I-IV. At no time were fewer than 51 per cent of the pupils in grades I-IV or more than 1 per cent in grade XII. About 28 to 36 per cent were usually enrolled in grades V-VIII. In 1906 only 3 per cent of the enrollment was concentrated in standards VI-VII. By 1920 6.7 per cent of the school population was in grades IX-XII, while in 1930 the percentage has risen to 12.7.[88] The rise was largely due to the emergence, during the 1920s, of consolidated schools in the south and west of the province, and of two classroom schools in rural northeastern Alberta. These larger facilities, staffed by two or more teachers and subsidized by the government, provided high school instruction in rural Alberta for the first time.

Well into the 1920s the major problem plaguing the Alberta school system was the shortage of qualified school teachers. There were a number of reasons for the shortage. The most obvious of these was the fact that Alberta was an expanding pioneer society whose school population increased fivefold between 1904 and 1920. The Northwest Territories did not have a Normal School for training teachers until 1893,[89] when one was established in Regina. The first Normal School in

Alberta was established in Calgary in 1906. Although a second Normal School was established in Camrose in 1912, it was not until 1928 that a third one was permanently set up in Edmonton. As a result teachers had to be recruited from the older provinces, from Great Britain and from the USA. Between 1904 and 1914 alone, the Department of Education issued 2,155 interim (first-year) certificates to qualified teachers trained in Alberta and the Northwest Territories, and 3,245 interim certificates to qualified teachers trained elsewhere. Simultaneously 3,363 temporary permits were issued to teachers who were not fully qualified.[90] Usually these were university students seeking summer employment in rural SDs.

Low, irregular and uncertain salaries also discouraged many young men and women from pursuing a teaching career. In 1906 the average salary of a full-time teacher was $614.13.[91] Prior to 1914 most rural teachers earned no more than $50 to $60 a month. Between 1915 and 1929 the average teacher's salary rose from $532.23 to $1130.42, primarily as a result of a 1919 regulation setting $840 per annum as a minimum salary. While male teachers with first class certificates, who taught in towns or villages often earned as much as $2300 annually, males, and especially females with second and third class certificates, who taught in rural schools, earned considerably less than the average.

The limited investment of time and energy required of prospective teachers did not encourage many to look upon teaching as a permanent profession.[92] Well into the 1920s teaching was perceived to be a temporary career between high school and marriage, or between high school and a permanent career in business or in one of the professions. Normal School entrance requirements were not onerous. Applicants had to present a certificate of moral character signed by a clergyman, be 16 (females) or 18 (males) years of age, and possess the equivalent of a standard VI, VII, or VIII (later a grade X, XI or XII) education if they wanted to obtain a third, second or first class certificate. (An academic certificate was introduced in 1924 for university graduates). Although entrance requirements were raised to grade XI standing, and instruction leading to a third class certificate discontinued in 1912, third class certificates valid for one year were issued to candidates who were "not completely successful in their exams or practice teaching."[93] Moreover, between 1919 and 1924, when the shortage of teachers was especially acute, war veterans were admitted with grade X standing and others with deficiencies in their grade XI and XII standing. The Normal School session lasted four months prior to 1919; eight months between 1919 and 1928; and 39 weeks thereafter. Interim certificates were granted to candidates who had completed the Normal School course with an over-all average of at least 50 per cent and a minimum of 34 per cent in each subject. Professional certificates were granted after one year of successful teaching and a favourable evaluation from a school inspector. Throughout the period to 1930 most students entered Normal School with grade XI standing and left with a second class certificate. At least 60 to 70 per cent fell into this category. About 20 per cent held first class certificates, while the number of permit teachers dropped from 548 in 1913 to 65 in 1925.[94]

By the late 1920s the supply of teachers at last matched the demand for their services.

B. The Organization of School Districts in the Bloc Settlement

By 1898 there were about 800 Ukrainian children of school age in east central Alberta. By 1900 the majority of students in SDs like Josephburg, Creekford, Beaver Creek, Manawan and Limestone Lake, organized by the original non-Ukrainian settlers, were of Slavic origin. Beginning in 1904 SDs with Ukrainian place names began to appear: Wostok (1900), Sniatyn (1902), Zawale (1904), Bukowina (1904), Vladymir (1905), Shandro (1905), Chernowci (1906), Szypenitz (1906).[95] While most of these schools had been organized by the settlers themsleves, Robert Fletcher was appointed Supervisor of Schools for Foreigners when Alberta attained provincial status in 1905. His function was "to assist the non-English-speaking settlers in the establishment of school districts, the erection of schools, the employment of teachers and the levying of taxes . . . Where necessary he was appointed official trustee to assume the duties ordinarily performed by a board of trustees elected by the ratepayers."[96] With the assistance of prominent local Ukrainians (Peter Svarich, Maxim Tomyn, Andrew Shandro, Theodore Nemirsky), whose assistance he never bothered to acknowledge in his published reports, Fletcher organized SDs throughout the Ukrainian settlement in east central Alberta. By 1907, 27 schools had been erected; by 1910 there were 80 Ukrainian SDs, many with a school and a teacher's shack, and some even with a barn; and by 1915, when there were 130 SDs Fletcher announced that "the organization of the area into school districts had been completed."[97] Fletcher held this position until at least 1917, the year of his last published report. In 1919 and 1920 Joseph Morgan acted as Supervisor of Schools Among New Canadians, while F.S. Carr held the position in 1921-22. In 1923 the economic recession obliged the government to abolish the office. Subsequently the regular school inspectors were expected to assist non-English speaking immigrants.

The organization of SDs in the Ukrainian bloc settlement proved to be an uphill struggle. At the outset enlightened settlers who wanted to establish schools frequently ran into opposition from their less enlightened brethren; the services of qualified teachers were almost impossible to obtain; once the school had been built and a teacher secured attendance remained irregular; and trustees were reluctant to provide any but the most basic services lest they be obliged to raise the tax rate. It would require at least two decades to resolve these problems.

At first those who tried to organize SDs encountered much mistrust and suspicion. When a motion to build a school was brought before a meeting of settlers in what would soon become Shandro SD #1438, in 1905,

> there was immediate protest from an older man. He claimed that one of the reasons for coming to Canada was to escape taxation and with the building of a school, he knew that taxes would be levied on all land. The protestor had some other men supporting him for the word "taxes" frightened them.[98]

Those who first undertook to organize Pobeda SD #1604, three miles southeast of Two Hills, in 1908

> were opposed by as many individuals, who considered education as a waste of time and money. They had never attended school themselves and they felt that their children could get along without any education just as their forefathers had done.[99]

Referring to early efforts to organize schools, Mykhailo Stechishin insisted that "90 per cent of our farmers opposed the organization of school districts."[100] Yet, according to all accounts, even the most rabid opponents of SDs were quick to perceive the advantages of providing children with an education. By 1909 parents were taking children into town with them to help with the calculations whenever purchases had to be made.[101] In 1911 Fletcher reported that "where at first they wanted large districts in order to keep down the taxes, now they favour moderate-sized districts so that none of the children will have too great a distance to travel."[102] He was also encouraged by the fact that settlers no longer suspected school trustees of trying to impose unnecessary taxes.

Even when a SD had been organized and trustees elected a number of problems remained to be ironed out. The trustees, who were often uneducated and illiterate, could run into financial difficulties and had to be relieved of their duties by Fletcher, who would assume control of the district as an official trustee. In 1913 in Krasne SD #2245 the trustees were dismissed and Fletcher assumed control because the former, contrary to law, expected to be paid for their services. In 1915 trouble developed in Proswita SD #1563 when the trustees refused to hire a teacher because they were in financial trouble. In Kotzmann SD #2325 Fletcher had to assume control when a dispute errupted over the election of trustees.[103] Nevertheless, by 1916 only eight of 130 SDs were under the control of an official trustee. The remainder administered their own affairs, although not always to the satisfaction of school officials and more enlightened settlers. During the war, Wasyl Swystun lamented that trustees closed schools to cut down on expenses; forbade children over 15 to attend schools; forbade teachers to teach children games lest they tear their clothes on the playground; objected to extra-curricular activities such as school concerts which kept children away from the farm; and referred to consolidated schools "as nothing less than the imposition of serfdom."[104] Even during the 1920s trustees in Smoky Lake kept schools closed to keep taxes low and refused to purchase a movie projector for the school. In the Vegreville region trustees opposed participation by school children in the Agricultural Fair and refused to provide high school level instruction in a number of schools.[105]

Once a SD had been organized and a school building erected the services of a teacher had to be obtained. This proved to be difficult since qualified teachers did not care to teach among the "Galicians." While prejudice and the availability of more lucrative positions in towns and villages prevented some teachers from taking up positions in the bloc settlement, most were discouraged by the loneliness and isolation they experienced in SDs populated by settlers who spoke no English.[106] The difficulty of finding suitable living accommodations was also a major consideration. A 19 or 20 year old female teacher could hardly be expected to share a one or two room peasant dwelling with an immigrant family (and perhaps a few of the small animals). As a result most Ukrainian SDs could only recruit male teachers, who constituted but 30 per cent of the teaching force in 1906.[107] Mr. Alexander Ammette lived in a tent during his first (and last) winter as teacher in Huwen SD #1457.[108] Although teachers' shacks had been built near the school in many districts by 1914, they were not comfortable even for the male teachers who occupied them.

Prior to the mid-1920s only the schools with a comfortable teacherage and those located near railroad towns were able to retain the same teacher for any length of time. Elsewhere teachers were difficult to obtain and the turnover was very high. Of the 27 schools built by 1907 only 22 were able to obtain a teacher for a very brief period of time.[109] Ukrainian SDs, even more so than other pioneer areas were left with a poor "assortment of teachers, often seedy old veterans of the schoolmaster's trade who filled in for a few months now and then, or young university students from the East who came out for a brief period during the summer recesses."[110] In Kolomea SD #1507 shortly before WWI the teacher was an "old Englishman who whammed the bigger boys over the back with a willow cane."[111] In Togo SD #1692 one of the university students employed to teach during the summer, the son of a high ranking government official, was lazy and careless enough to close the school a few weeks before the end of the term, doctor the school register, and spend the remainder of the term playing billiards in Vegreville.[112] When Charles Druitt came to teach in Czahar SD #2322 he was accompanied by a Chinese boy who acted as his cook and housekeeper.[113] Needless to say, not all of the early teachers fell into this category. Mr. William Nixon, the first teacher at Pobeda SD #1604 won the confidence of his pupils, made every effort to be a good teacher, and even bought Christmas gifts for all the children.[114] Mrs. English, who taught in Two Hills SD #1941 for 24 years, encouraged all eight of her children to learn the Ukrainian language.[115]

The Alberta Department of Education refused to resolve the teacher shortage in Ukrainian SDs in the manner it had been resolved by Manitoba and Saskatchewan.[116] In the two provinces special Training Schools had been established in which young Ukrainian males, who had obtained some education in the Old Country or Canada, but who failed to satisfy the formal requirements for Normal School entrance, could earn provisional certificates entitling them to teach in Ukrainian SDs. Although graduates of the Training Schools in Brandon and Regina were granted permits to teach in east central Alberta on a number of occasions prior to 1914, the Alberta Department of Education refused to create a "segregated" teaching force by establishing a special teacher training programme and certifying teachers who did not meet Normal School entrance requirements. The English School for Foreigners opened in Vegreville in February 1913 remained a partial concession to grass roots pressure from influential Ukrainian community leaders who could deliver the Ukrainian vote to the Liberal government of Alberta. The School did not prepare its students for certification as teachers. Rather, it provided them with an opportunity to improve their English and to cover the regular public school curriculum at an accelerated pace. Of the approximately 200 young men between the age of 16 and 30 who attended the School at one time or another during its five year existence, only five went on to become qualified teachers.[117]

The shortage of teachers was especially acute during and immediately after WWI when many able-bodied male school teachers enlisted in the armed forces. During this period the school term was confined to the summer months in most rural SDs. The shortage was especially acute in the Vegreville and Vermilion inspectorates. Only schools with comfortable teacherages such as those in Wostok SD #528 and Shandro SD #1438 were able to retain full-time teachers, usually females or married couples.

The supply of teachers in east central Alberta finally began to match the demand in the late 1920s. By this time teacherages had been built adjacent to many schools. In the Vegreville inspectorate 64 of 121 schools had a comfortable teacherage.[118] Where there was no teacherage teachers could board in a modern home owned by one of the more prosperous settlers. The existence of three railroad lines running from east to west, better roads and highways, and the advent of the automobile also helped to reduce the sense of isolation and loneliness experienced by the rural teacher. Most importantly however, by the late 1920s a generation of Alberta-educated teachers of Ukrainian origin had emerged. They were the product of the growing prosperity among the settlers and of the increased availability of high school level instruction in rural SDs.

School attendance also became more regular during the 1920s. Prior to 1914, while the settlers were struggling to make ends meet and trying to establish themselves on their farms, children were kept from school for a number of reasons. In the spring and summer they were needed at home to help with seeding and harvesting. In the winter parents who could not afford to buy shoes and warm clothing for their children were reluctant to send them to school which may have been up to four miles distant. The absence of good roads also inhibited school attendance.

By the 1920s prosperous settlers were no longer dependent on their children at seeding and harvest time. They could also afford to provide their children with warm winter clothing. Attendance also improved because teachers, inspectors and truant officers brought parents who refused to send their children to school before the JP. Finally, by the late 1920s schools in Ukrainian SDs no longer closed on the occasion of every religious holiday. While it had not been uncommon for schools in Ukrainian SDs to be closed on as many as 30 days yearly for religious reasons, most schools now closed for Ukrainain Christmas and New Year only.[119] The custom of closing down schools for the months of January and February also disappeared. Inspector Williams of Vegreville attributed this development to three factors.[120] The emergence of new railroad towns in the region made it impossible to stop working and close businesses for an extended period of time in January. The introduction of senior grades (VIII-XI) in many rural schools meant that a greater amount of time was required to cover the material. And, Ukrainian teachers were able to convince trustees to forego customary holidays.

By 1930 the education of east central Alberta's "foreigners" or "New Canadians" was no longer perceived to be a major problem. Most children now started school at the age of six rather than eight or nine and stayed in school until the age of 16. Schools operated from September through June and were open for 200 days annually. From about 1927 there had been a growing demand among parents for high school instruction in their SDs. Over 75 per cent of the two room schools built in Alberta between 1920 and 1930 were to be found in Ukrainian SDs and about 15 per cent of the young people were enrolled in high school grades (IX-XII).[121]

C. The Great Ruthenian School Revolt

Officials of the Department of Education had constantly expressed concern about the absence of schools that were open all year, the incompetence of elected trustees, the lack of qualified teachers and irregular attendance in Ukrainian SDs. These problems, however, were in no way unique to Ukrainian SDs. What really troubled officials about the Ukrainian SDs was the fact that ". . . a strong sentiment that their schools should be conducted by Ruthenian teachers and in the Ruthenian language is developing among these settlers." This fear was amply demonstrated by the Department's response to the "Great Ruthenian School Revolt" of 1913.

According to Departmental accounts, early in 1913 a number of

> Ruthenian schools were raided by would-be teachers from Manitoba and Saskatchewan. The majority of these young men had a very indifferent education. Their written English was faulty in idiomatic expression, while their speech was characterized by indistinct articulation. Some of them could scarcely make themselves understood in either written or spoken English.[122]

They were recruited by an "organization" "composed of certain well known agitators who had ulterior motives to serve" and who "agitated that Ruthenian be taught in our Ruthenian schools and that unqualified Ruthenians be allowed to teach." Anticipating "the conduct of this organization" the Department of Education "immediately ruled that only qualified teachers, regardless of nationality be allowed to take charge of schools." Robert Fletcher visited the trustees of Oleskow SD #1612, Podola SD #2065, Molodia SD #1486, Zawale SD #1074, Spring Creek SD #1519, Paraskevia SD #1487, and Stanislawow SD #1485 and "persuaded them to dismiss the unqualified Ruthenian in each case and engage a qualified teacher." Fletcher also visited the trustees of Vladymir SD #1217, Kolomea SD #1507, Lwiw SD #1474 and Bukowina SD #1162. Because their trustees refused to make the requested change of teachers, Fletcher was promptly appointed official trustee in each of the SDs and proceeded to appoint qualified teachers. While the first three SDs submitted, the trustees of Bukowina SD would not give up the fight. They proceeded to build a private school for the "unqualified" teacher, collected taxes from the ratepayers in order to pay this teacher for his services, and refused to allow children in the district to be instructed by Mr. Armstrong, the qualified English-speaking teacher.

In order to put an end to the revolt, section 149 of The School Ordinance was amended in October 1913 so as to prohibit any persons "not having a valid certificate of qualifications issued under the regulations of the department" from receiving "any remuneration for his services as such teacher." The deposed trustees were warned to stop collecting taxes for the "unqualified" teacher's salary and to pay their taxes to Fletcher. When they refused Fletcher recovered the taxes owed to the Department by distraint of chattel. On December 15 five horses were seized from the "leading belligerents of the district."

The Great Ruthenian School Revolt had been suppressed although the vanquished remained hostile. When Mr. Armstrong the qualified teacher finally assumed his duties at the beginning of 1914 "he was assaulted by two men, two women and two grown boys." Fortunately the female "ringleader" was apprehended, fined and sentenced to a term in jail.[123]

Ukrainian accounts throw a different light on these developments and help to place them in perspective.[124] According to these, Ukrainian spokesmen led by Peter Svarich and other active supporters of the ruling Liberal Party, had been seeking to introduce a system of bilingual education into Alberta since 1909. They believed that a school system patterned after Manitoba and Saskatchewan would help to solve the chronic shortage of teachers. In February 1912 a convention of 95 Ukrainian school trustees and 66 other delegates formed a school council. The council appealed to the Minister of Education to establish a special teacher training institute for Ukrainians, appoint an official Ukrainian school organizer, translate the School Act into Ukrainian and pass legislation permitting more extensive use of the Ukrainian language in the public schools.[125] Although the English School for Foreigners was established, it failed to live up to Ukrainian expectations. Other changes were not forthcoming. Moreover, a Redistribution Bill introduced into the Alberta legislature in late 1912 proposed new electoral boundaries that would minimize "the effectiveness of the Ukrainian vote by concentrating it in one riding (Whitford) and then splitting the remainder among three others."[126]

Svarich and his associates responded by convening a public meeting attended by 200 Ukrainians in Vegreville on 15 January 1913. A narodnyi komitet (people's committee) was elected and one week later it met with Premier Sifton and J.R. Boyle, Minister of Education. The committee's representatives criticized the Redistribution Bill and presented their demands for educational reform. They felt their demands were justified in view of the pro-Liberal voting record of the Ukrainian settlers. Sifton and Boyle did not agree. The committee's petition was rejected and the Liberals abandoned Svarich and his associates as their Ukrainian intermediaries. They turned instead to Andrew Shandro, a young Bukovynian farmer, of Russian Orthodox persuasion, who had recently come under the influence of the local Russophile party. Whether the Liberals were aware of the Russophile movement's pedigree is not clear. What is clear as Makuch has pointed out, is that the Liberals realized that the Russophiles represented an influential group that could deliver the "Ruthenian vote" while "keeping a lid on the school question." After all they insisted that the Ukrainians were not a distinct nation and they opposed the use of Ukrainian in the classroom.[127]

Because the government ignored their demands and foiled attempts to have any Ukrainians except Shandro nominated as Liberal candidates in constituencies heavily populated by Ukrainians, four members of the already defunct people's committee decided to run as Independent Ruthenian candidates in the April 1913 provincial election. Peter Svarich, Paul Rudyk, Michael Gowda and Gregory Krickersky (Kraikivsky) ran in Vegreville, Whitford, Victoria and Vermilion respectively. All four were defeated in spite of the fact that some of the Ukrainian school teachers in the bloc settlement had campaigned for them.

It was at this point that the Department of Education revealed the existence of an "organization . . . . composed of certain well known agitators who had ulterior motives to serve" and decided to crack down on the "unqualified" Ruthenian teachers.

Who were the Ukrainians who taught in east central Alberta prior to 1914? A handful had been teaching on permits since about 1909 having been recruited by Peter Svarich in his capacity as secretary of some ten Ukrainian SDs.[128] Although at least one of the teachers recruited by Svarich--Mr. Boychuk, a stern and aging Old Country disciplinarian-- was in fact unable to speak a word of English, the others were certainly qualified to teach elementary grades even if their English was "faulty in idiomatic expression" and their pedagogical training not very extensive.

What was important to Svarich and his associates was that these men were willing to teach in schools which would otherwise have remained empty and that they were respected by the peasant immigrants. If their presence did nothing more than encourage the immigrants to send their children to school they would have performed a valuable service. They included men like Zygmunt Bychynsky, a graduate of the University of Lviv, an Independent Greek Church minister, and an author of numerous articles in Ukrainian scholarly journals who would become a librarian at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor (Kolomea SD #1507, 1909); Nicholas Romaniuk and Ivan Yakimischak, a future lawyer and MD respectively (Pobeda SD #1604); Hryhorii Nowak, another future MD (Kiew SD #1693, Sich SD #1595); M. Starodvorov, a University of Alberta engineering student (Mryoslaw SD #2106); and, a number of others including Elias Kiriak, future novelist, Michael Luchkovich, UFA MP (1926-35), and a few gymnasium graduates from Galicia.

According to Ukrainian accounts those dismissed in 1913 included three graduates of the Ruthenian Training School in Brandon, three Alberta College students and a number of Manitoba College students.[129] Although the Department of Education had the right to dismiss the permit teachers it seems the Liberals were motiviated by partisan politics and by the determination to nip the spread of bilingualism in the bud. The qualified teachers appointed to replace the Ukrainian "invaders" were not all model pedagogues. One of them, a Mr. W. Dykeman, who replaced John Genik, a second year Arts student at Manitoba College, in Kolomea school, tried to sexually molest three 10 to 12 year old girls during his first week at the school and was subsequently incarcerated at the penitentiary in Fort Saskatchewan.[130]

Wasyl Czumer, the teacher at the centre of the controversy in Bukowina SD, was a graduate of the Ruthenian Training School, had taught for five years in Manitoba, spoke four languages, and was the first permanent teacher in the school's nine years of existence. In March 1914 Judge Crawford of the Edmonton district court fined Czumer for violating the amendment to Section 149 of the School Ordinance and ordered him to vacate the school. However, he observed that Czumer ". . . could speak the English language so as to qualify in that respect as a teacher in one of our district schools," described him as " . . . a man that impressed me very favourably . . . bright, intelligent, and of an honest disposition," and stated flatly that ". . . for some reason or other, which I will not attempt even to guess at, the Department of Education refused to grant him a permit."[131] Needless to say the Department's Annual Report did not mention Mr. Dykeman or the Judge's assessment of Mr. Czumer.

Mr. Armstrong the qualified teacher who replaced Czumer was "assaulted" by Ukrainian settlers because he refused to listen to their request that he leave and ordered them to get out of the teacherage. Two weeks earlier the settlers' horses had been seized after they refused to pay his salary. On that occasion a woman who refused to surrender her mare had been struck repeatedly by the constable who accompanied Fletcher, and according to some accounts, by Fletcher himself.[132] The female "ringleader" who assaulted Armstrong, Mrs. Maria Kapitsky, had to take care of her 18 month old infant in prison.

To add insult to injury, officials of the Department of Education, including J.R. Boyle, the Minister, and Fletcher, began referring to Ukrainians as "Russians" shortly after the expulsion of the teachers and the formation of the Liberal-Russophile alliance. The School Act was translated and published in the etymological script favoured by Russophiles, and the government justified its actions by citing laudatory resolutions passed at Russophile public meetings.

A number of Ukrainian SDs remained virtually without teachers during the next few years.

D. The Debate Over the Role of the Rural School

While SDs were being organized, trustees elected, one and two room schools erected, teachers hired and fired, Anglo-Canadian educators and Ukrainian community leaders in Alberta and the other two Prairie provinces were engaged in a debate about the objectives of the school system.

Anglo-Canadian educators, like the overwhelming majority of their compatriots believed that Prairie society must be homogeneously English-speaking and founded on British values and institutions. As Sutherland has observed, their long crusade against the French language had demonstrated their determination to establish a unilingual English-speaking society long before immigrants from east central Europe threatened to transform Prairie society into a "Tower of Babel."[133] Their fear of the culturally heterodox immigrants precipitated campaigns to "Canadianize" them.

The rural public school was perceived to be the single most important agency of "Canadianization." In the school the teaching of the English language--the first prerequisite of Canadianization--was to be the first and most important task of the teacher. Because the immigrant child heard no English outside the school, instruction was to be carried on in English alone. It was also argued that the best way to impart the new language was by the English-only "direct-method."[134] In addition to teaching English, the teacher was expected to transmit the fundamental values on which British civilization rested. "Pupils had to be taught to understand and respect British parliamentary institutions and the basic equality of each individual before the law."[135] Finally, the school was to build character and moral stature by instilling manners, morals and the rules of hygiene.

Anglo-Canadian educators seem to have assumed that the children of peasant immigrants had only to be taught the English language and the values of British-Protestant civilization and all their problems would be solved. They displayed little if any appreciation of the difficulties involved in the transformation of Ukrainian peasant immigrants into Canadians. They were not concerned with raising the peasant immigrant child's morale, cultivating enthusiasm for learning, or stimulating the child's ability to think critically. Rather they would have teachers indoctrinate their pupils. The rural school was a temple dedicated to this indoctrination. A Union Jack covered the front wall above and behind the teacher's desk while portraits of King Edward, his royal consort Alexandra, and assorted Prime Ministers adorned the walls.

Teachers taught the children to sing patriotic songs such as "Rule Britannia" and "The Maple Leaf Forever." One teacher even attempted to teach grade II pupils British history. Miss Mary Howard, who taught at Kyselew SD #1407 and Sniatyn SD #1605 took her charges on field trips to the Methodist mission at Pakan and organized elocution contests. In a number of SDs chidren were strapped, made to write "lines" or detained after school for speaking Ukrainian in school or on the playground.[136] Nick Hawrelak of Shandro SD #1438 was demoted from grade VII to grade III by his teacher, Miss Mosher, after she overheard him speaking Ukrainian to a store-keeper. The reason for the demotion was "not knowing how to speak English." He was obliged to spend and waste the rest of the school year in the third grade.[137] Charles Denney, a sympathetic English-speaking teacher, described the state of affairs in many a rural SD in the following terms:

> In one Ukrainian district that I know of school has been in operation for 25 years--but only the children of the last six years recall anything they ever learned in school. The others . . . went to school to be pounded by the English speaking children, taunted and jibed, then whipped by the teacher and sent home.[138]

School inspectors seem to have evaluated Ukrainian teachers exclusively on their ability to speak the English language fluently and they lamented that ". . . the largest factor which acts as a handicap to educational progress . . . is the fact that in a large number of districts, a language other than English is spoken in the home of the pupils."[139] School Inspectors also recommended Alfred Fitzpatrick's Handbook for New Canadians as a supplementary textbook.[140] Reading passages in the book, published in 1919, implied that naturalized citizens should anglicize their names and surnames and defined the "good citizen" as one who ". . . Loves the Empire, Loves Canada . . . Works hard . . . [and] Does his work well." It also extolled the virtues and achievements of Canada's "captains of industry" and described Canada as a country in which success depended exclusively on personal effort and application:

> On ourselves depends our success in Canada. We must rely on our own efforts; we must be industrious and sober; we must have energy and a determination to get along . . . Let us do our best each day and we shall succeed.[141]

In a word, from the Anglo-Canadian educator's point of view the school was supposed to serve the interests of the state rather than those of the immigrant child. It was supposed to preserve the status quo.

Ukrainian spokesmen on the other hand were more concerned with the child. While some championed bilingual education because they were simply interested in cultivating or preserving "Ukrainian national identity," others were able to relate bilingualism in the schools to the child's personal development. They feared that the unilingual public school's narrow assimilationist objectives only complicated and magnified the problems which already beset demoralized peasant immigrants. While emphasizing the necessity and the benefits to be derived from a thorough command of the English language, they nevertheless insisted that it was above all necessary to cultivate respect for education and enthusiasm for learning. This, they were convinced, was the only way to break the vicious circle of despair, self-abnegation and fatalism in which many of the immigrants were caught. A school system staffed by English-speaking teachers bent on assimilating the immigrants as rapidly as possible would fail in this objective and would only demoralize the immigrant children.

Writing in 1911, Vasyl Mihaychuk, a prominent bilingual teacher in Manitoba, argued that where unilingual English-speaking teachers were assigned to schools in non-English-speaking districts, the children were puzzled and discouraged. Such children left school with no desire to read and learn. Moreover, "the result is that parents noticing the unintelligible school work, think it would be better to have the children at work. They either keep them at home or send them out [to work]."[142]

Five years later, Mihaychuk published a lengthy article in Ukrainskyi holos in which he presented the case for bilingual education. Because his article echoed or anticipated views which became current among psychologists and sociologists engaged in the study of assimilation they are worth quoting at some length.

> . . . a Ukrainian boy in an English school . . . reads only English narratives and stories, sees only an English world depicted in English terms, replete with sparkling homes and handsome people. He reads and knows nothing about the Ukrainian world and consequently is absolutely unaware that we have anything better than that which he sees at home, where, as a result of poverty, his father is illiterate and restless, his mother bare-footed and poorly clothed, the house dirty and destitute . . . his friends poor and unclothed, as are the neighbours, and the rest of our people . . . It cannot be otherwise [he concludes].
>
> The consequence of this is skepticism about his family and his people, and an aversion for everything which is native to him. He is ashamed of his home, his father, his mother, his relatives; he spurns his language because this, the only bit of knowledge which he cherishes is unacceptable and worthless in the eyes of the refined [English] people. But what is most distressing, having grown up, he becomes ashamed of himself, lacks faith in his own powers, and does not believe in his own capacity to lift himself out of poverty and ignorance . . .
>
> He becomes a renegade [who] refuses to associate with or acknowledge his own people. Yet, the consciousness of being ashamed of himself, the feeling that he is inferior to, and somehow beneath other members of his newly adopted nationality, gnaws at him, while his sense of shame and feelings of worthlessness, destroy all his noble drives and ambitions.

Self-contempt, resignation, and a sense of inferiority and despair, the traits which weighed heavily on the peasant psyche, were perpetuated rather than purged by an ethnocentric unilingual English education. A bilingual education, on the other hand, would neither discourage nor demoralize the child. Rather, it would spark his curiosity and present him with comprehensible role models:

> Our boys do not become excited at the mention of Lord Nelson's name, nor do our girls respond to "Darling." They remain indifferent to the heroic deeds of these characters. However we observe an entirely different phenomenon when we tell them stories about the lives of Shevchenko and Pavlyk, or about our other heroes, and when we read them the stort stories of Vera Lebed. Their eyes shine and the heart rejoices when one sees their joy and alacrity of spirit as they read or listen to these Ukrainian stories. Such is the nature of the human spirit

> that it comes to life and acquires independence when one sees that people like oneself overcome obstacles, perform noble deeds and become heroes . . .

For this very reason, Mihaychuk concluded that even the mere presence of a bilingual Ukrainian teacher in a peasant immigrant settlement had a very positive impact on raising the children's morale. The bilingual teacher was "living proof" of the fact that they too could better themselves and strive for a way of life that may have previously seemed unattainable.[143]

E. The Emergence of the Ukrainian School Teacher

In 1913 Ukrainian teachers from Manitoba and Saskatchewan had been driven out of Alberta. During the next decade, as a result of teacher shortages brought on by the war, most Ukrainian SDs operated only during the summer months. Nevertheless a new generation of Alberta-educated Ukrainian-speaking teachers began to emerge during this decade. By the 1930s the overwhelming majority of rural school teachers in the Ukrainian bloc settlement would be of Ukrainian origin.

A number of factors contributed to the emergence of a fairly large contingent of rural Ukrainian school teachers during the 1920s and 1930s. The war-time rise in agricultural prices enabled may established Ukrainian farmers to move out of subsistence agriculture into commercial farming and to improve their standard of living. Many could now afford to provide their children with a high school and Normal School education in one of the towns where it was offered. Simultaneously, Ukrainian Greek Orthodox and Ukrainian Greek Catholic bursy or student residences were established in Vegreville and Edmonton providing a conducive atmosphere for would-be scholars away from home for the first time. Those who could not afford to attend high school in Edmonton, Vegreville, Mundare, Lamont, Smoky Lake or one of the other railroad towns could obtain at least a few years of high-school instruction in one of the two room schools that mushroomed all across the bloc settlement during the 1920s. Finally, the improvement in teachers' salaries and in teacher tenure, as well as the provision of comfortable teacherages, transformed teaching into a fairly attractive vocation.

The first Ukrainians to graduate from a regular Normal School in Alberta--Wasyl Kurietz (William Corry) and Harry Kostash--entered the teaching force in 1916. That year there were six Ukrainian teachers in Alberta. The following year 19 attended the First Ukrainian Teachers' Convention held in Edmonton.[144] Many of these were permit holders allowed to teach because of the shortage of teachers. Only a minority were considered to be fluent in English and "altogether satisfactory" by the inspectors.[145] By 1924-25, 17 or 2.7 per cent of the Normal School students in Alberta were of Ukrainian origin. Six years later in 1930-31 the proportion of Ukrainian students enrolled in the Normal Schools (7.8 per cent, 75 students) matched the proportion of Ukrainians in Alberta (7.6 per cent, 55,872).[146] During the 1930s Ukrainian students were proportionally over represented in the Normal Schools. Simultaneously the number of Ukrainians enrolled at the University of Alberta increased from one in 1915-16 to 29 (of about 1500) in 1927-28, and 47 in 1938-39.

In 1929 there were 287 teachers of Ukrainian origin in Alberta. They constituted 5.03 per cent of the total teaching force.[147] Virtually all taught in Ukrainian rural SDs. Fifty-five were concentrated in the Lamont inspectorate where they constituted 31.4 per cent of the teachers. Although statistics for the other inspectorates are not available for 1929-30, it may be of some benefit to examine statistics compiled in 1939-40 in order to observe some general trends.[148]

By 1939-40 there were 474 teachers of Ukrainian origin in Alberta. They constituted 7.6 per cent of the teaching force (while Ukrainians constituted almost 9 per cent of the population). Eighty-six per cent taught in predominantly Ukrainian SDs; the others taught in areas where there was a high percentage of Poles, Russians or Rumanians. In 79 predominantly Ukrainian SDs the teacher was of non-Ukrainian origin. The greatest concentrations of Ukrainian teachers were to be found in Vegreville (40-50 per cent), Smoky Lake (71.1 per cent), Lamont (77.7 per cent) and Two Hills (94.2 per cent) school divisions.[149]

Ukrainian teachers were under-represented in the city and town schools, where teachers' salaries were relatively generous and over-represented in the rural schools, where salaries were low. While 24.9 per cent of Alberta teachers taught in the cities and towns, only 1.7 per cent of Ukrainian teachers taught in urban areas. On the other hand 88.4 per cent of Ukrainian teachers taught in rural schools while only 60 per cent of Alberta teachers fell into this category. This disproportionate distribution was not the result of any academic deficiencies on the part of Ukrainian teachers. The formal qualifications of Ukrainian teachers were almost on a par with those of the rest of the Alberta teaching profession and inspectors considered them to be just as competent as the rest of the teaching force. Rather, it was due to the fact that "Ukrainian teachers are not welcomed in English districts and are therefore not hired by these boards" as one Department of Education official admitted. "Even the suggestion of Ukrainian extraction in a name is enough generally to cause the refusal of an application."[150] Prejudice, traces of an accent, and a desire for Protestant teachers prevented English-speaking school boards in the towns and cities from hiring Ukrainian teachers. The most a Ukrainian teacher could realistically aspire to was a post in one of the eight railroad towns in the bloc where Ukrainians constituted a majority of the population (Andrew, Bellis, Derwent, Mundare, Myrnam, Two Hills, Willingdon, Smoky Lake). In 1939-40 only 8.1 per cent of Ukrainian teachers taught in such schools.

The appearance of a contingent of Ukrainian teachers provoked some resentment within the ranks of the teaching profession. In 1923 Inspector LaZerte of Vegreville criticized a marked tendency on the part of Ukrainian school trustees to offer Ukrainian teachers higher salaries than those offered to Anglo-Saxon teachers.[151] Two years later, F.S. Warren, a teacher in Smoky Lake repeated the charge and claimed that Ukrainian teachers earned $200 or $300 more annually for teaching Ukrainian after school.[152] During the 1930s Ukrainian teachers were accused of secretly agreeing to work for less than the minimum teachers' salary in order to secure teaching positions.[153] Nevertheless this type of resentment does not seem to have been widespread. Letters to the Alberta Teachers' Association Magazine conceded that Ukrainian teachers had the right to teach Ukrainian after hours and to be remunerated for this service. Correspondents also realized that Ukrainian teachers faced a more narrow and competitive job market.[154]

Those teachers who lived up to the community's expectations by providing leadership were held in high esteem by Ukrainians during the 1920s and 1930s. They established reading clubs and national homes, organized concerts, gave public lectures, promoted temperance, established cooperatives, and took an active part in politics. In addition to teaching the Ukrainian language at the end of the day, some of the teachers offered music lessons on Saturdays. Leadership in cultural life was most frequently provided by teachers who spent their high school, Normal School or university years in residence in one of the bursy. These institutions frequently acted as incubators of Ukrainian culture and national consciousness.

By the 1930s Ukrainian rural teachers were perceived to be good agents of Canadianization by Anglo-Canadian educators who were finally becoming aware of the fact that over-rapid assimilation only led to social disorganization and demoralization. Unlike the average English-speaking teacher, Ukrainian teachers were able to win the confidence of children and parents alike. Because the children could readily identify with them and because parents encouraged their children to imitate Ukrainian teachers, the latter were uniquely situated to advance assimilation. They were praised for persuading parents to send their children to high schools and for acquainting their charges with British institutions and history. It was even conceded that only about 33 per cent of the Ukrainian teachers still had trouble with the English language and most of these were older men who had been born in the Old Country.

5. The Country Store

An institution found in many rural communities was the country store. A country store could be located in one room of a private farm home or in a specially constructed building which might also accommodate a post office and a toll phone. At a time when roads were poor and only one or two railroads at the southern and northern boundaries of the bloc settlement served the settlers, shopping could become a one or two week excursion undertaken by oxen or horses and wagon through mud and over hills and valleys. Consequently, whenever a country store was established it was welcomed as a real blessing by the community.

The stores were usually owned and operated by enterprising farmers who sought to supplement their income by providing an essential service. Sometimes, they were operated by older men who could no longer perform the heavy work required of farmers and had left their farms in the care of their sons. In either case the store became a commercial and social centre where, in addition to the business transactions, one could witness friendly card, checker and chess games, as well as animated conversations about local events and politics.

The first Ukrainian-owned country stores appear to have been established shortly after the turn of the century. Between 1902 and 1909 the Fedun store operated in the Krakow area some ten miles northeast of Chipman. In 1904 Mikita Sollowan opened a store on his farm near Wasel, 12 miles south of Bellis. In 1907 Stefan Dwernichuk, who had arrived from Bukovyna in 1899 established a general store and post office at Toporoutz about two miles southwest of Smoky Lake. It was located near a Russian Orthodox cemetary and church built in 1903.[155] Manoly Waselenchuk, Wasyl Chanley and Petro Dubetz also operated stores a few miles southwest, west and north of Toporoutz during the early years. By March 1908 Todor Lakusta was operating a general store in the Shandro area. The Shandro brothers, Andrew and Alex, who already ran a machinery dealership and a garage where automobiles were serviced, established a general store in Alex's house in 1912.[156]

It is impossible to determine the precise number of country stores that operated in the bloc settlement between 1900 and 1930 or to determine how many of them were owned by Ukrainian settlers. However entries from the Henderson's and Wrigley's Alberta Directories filed in the UCHV archives make some generalizations possible. An analysis of the data in the Directories suggests that country stores operated in about 110 localities in east central Alberta for all or part of the time between 1900 and 1930.[157] In approximately 35 of these localities the country store(s) were never owned by a Ukrainian, while in about 75 localities ownership was almost exclusively in Ukrainian hands. In some of these communities, especially those established prior to Ukrainian settlement or those on the periphery, Ukrainian owned stores may have operated intermittently and only for a few years (Beauvallon, Boyne Lake, Dodds, Elk Point, Hamlin, La Fond, Luzan, Monkman, Pakan, Plain Lake, Rife, Rodef, Sacred Heart, Spedden, etc.). In other places a Ukrainian owned store was a permanent institution from 1910 and especially from 1915 to 1930. Such stores were to be found in Cookville, Dalmuir, Delph, Desjarlais, Duvernay, Eldorena, Haight, Kaleland, Kahwin, Lanuke, Musidora, Myrnam, Peno, Shandro, Slawa, Wahstao, Wasel and a few other communities.

It also seems that the majority of the country stores listed in the Directories were located in the central and northern section of the bloc settlement. Very few (e.g. Soda Lake, Zawale, Plain Lake) stores--Ukrainian or non-Ukrainian--were located south of the Winnipeg Trail which more or less bisected the bloc settlement. This was probably so because settlers in the southernmost townships were rarely located more than 12 miles north of the CNoR line constructed in 1905 and had relatively easy access to the numerous stores and services offered in the railroad towns like Vegreville, Mundare and Lamont. Country stores in the northern townships were less numerous and disappeared sooner than those in the central townships (56 and 57) because the CNR line was constructed through Waskatenau - Smoky Lake - Bellis - Vilna between 1917 and 1920. With the construction of the CPR line through the centre of the bloc settlement in 1929 many country stores in the central region began to disappear or relocate in the new railroad towns. By this time the grid network of roads had been completed and together with the advent of the automobile, brought to an end the golden age of the country store in east central Alberta.

The Luzan Grocery Store presently at the UCHV was located at NW-36-56-16-W4 about 17 miles northeast of Mundare in the vicinity of Andrew and Willingdon.[158] It was established in 1927 and operated until 1939 by Mr. Alexander Bochanesky (1866-1946) who had come to Alberta in 1898 from the village of Kyseliv in Bukovyna. At the age of 61, Mr. Bochanesky, the father of seven children, retired from farm work and had a grocery store built on the property of one of the local farmers, a Mr. Ziganesh, who allowed him to operate the business free of rent. Mr. Bochanesky lived in a room which was located behind the grocery room. It was equipped with a bed, table, two chairs, cupboards, stool, cooking stove and mirror, but no plumbing or refrigeration.

Because Mr. Bochanesky could neither read nor write his son Nick did all the paper work related to the business. During the 1920s Mr. Bochanesky and a friend would drive to Edmonton and order goods directly from the wholesalers. The goods were then shipped by train to Mundare, where they would be picked up in three wagons by Mr. Bochanesky and one or more of his three eldest sons. By 1930 the goods were shipped by truck from Edmonton to Andrew or Willingdon, where they were picked up by the Bochaneskys. During the late 1930s a travelling salesman from Andrew would visit Mr. Bochanesky at his store, take orders and deliver directly to the store.

Groceries, hardware and clothing could be purchased in the store. Groceries included essential foodstuffs which could not be produced on the farm--everything from a variety of fruits and vegetables, coffee and tea, sugar, salt and spices, to garlic sausage and bologna. Confectionary items such as jelly beans, spearmint gum and soda pop, as well as tobacco, cigarettes and matches were also sold. The store also carried soap, tooth powder, scribblers and pencils. Mr. Bochanesky's line of hardware included axle grease, brooms, buck saws, nails, shovels, twine, coal oil gas, fly paper, mouse traps, stove pipe and a few other items. Only men's clothing was sold. Besides underwear, socks, handkerchiefs and towels, the store carried shirts, boots and gloves for work and for going out, neck ties and collar clips.

6. The Community Hall (Narodnyi Dim)

The last major institution to appear in many rural communities was the narodnyi dim or community hall. The narodni domy were the Canadian offspring of the chytalni (reading clubs) which had mushroomed in the villages and towns of Galicia and Bukovyna after 1890. Like the chytalni they were intended to serve as cultural centres where the settlers could carry on educational activities and where they could acquire and cultivate their Ukrainian heritage. Frequently the narodnyi dim was erected by members of a chytalnia (reading club) that had been organized some years earlier in the home of one of the settlers. This was the case in Edmonton, Myrnam, Mundare, Vegreville and Krakow for example.[159] Reading clubs which met in private homes had been organized between 1906 and 1915 in these centres, but narodni domy were constructed between 1914 and 1928. The construction of a narodnyi dim simply reflected and crowned the reading club's broadening range of activities. It also indicated that the community had attained a degree of prosperity and that its members could afford to indulge themselves in a bit of leisure activity.

The Canadian narodni domy were not perfect replicas of the Old Country chytalni. The Old Country chytalnia could consist of little more than four walls and a roof within which villagers gathered to hear newspapers read, listened to an occasional lecturer, or struggled with the alphabet. Most chytalni were in fact housed in simple buildings of this kind. Conversely, a chytalnia could be housed in a fairly elaborate building with an auditorium and a stage, and one or two additional rooms set aside for a cooperative and a library/reading room.[160]

In Canada the narodnyi dim consisted almost by definition of an auditorium and a stage to which additional rooms such as a "buffet" and "coat check" with a mezzanine above them were sometimes added.[161] The new social circumstances and needs of the immigrants had endowed the Canadian institution with a character of its own. Like the Old Country chytalni most narodni domy were used for meetings, lectures, choir rehearsals, plays and concerts. On the other hand, few of the narodni domy served as centres of cooperative activity and many did not have a library or reading room. Although some provided elementary instruction in the Ukrainian language, history and culture for school children on Saturdays, few if any were involved in systematic adult education and the war against illiteracy. In fact, the narodni domy were more oriented toward entertainment and recreation than the chytalni had been. Dances were frequently held in the auditoriums, picnics were organized for the community, and athletic activities such as gymnastics and baseball were organized for the benefit of the young people. Nevertheless where there was able leadership--usually in the shape of a dedicated Ukrainian schoolteacher--the narodnyi dim, like the chytalnia in the Old Country, "could awaken in the masses of semi-literate immigrants a sense of Ukrainian identity" and self-respect.[162] By hosting visiting lecturers from other parts of Canada, as well as from abroad, the narodnyi dim helped to integrate the settlers into Canadian society and introduced them to the issues that were agitating Ukrainians overseas.

The first narodnyi dim in east central Alberta was erected in 1914 in Vegreville. By 1940, when the "golden age" of the narodni domy had come to an end at least 110 Ukrainian community halls had been constructed in the province, all but 18 in east central Alberta.[163] About 40 per cent were located in the railroad towns and cities, the remaining 60 per cent in rural communities. Most were built by volunteer labour to keep construction costs down. Concerts and amateur theatricals generated the money required to pay for building materials and other expenses. Almost all were named in honour of a prominent figure from Ukrainian history. The name of this patron frequently, but not always, reflected the ideological orientation of the narodnyi dim's members. Among the most popular were Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the seventeenth century Cossack Hetman; Markiian Shashkevych, a nineteenth century Galician Greek Catholic priest who was the first to publish in the Ukrainian vernacular in Austria; Taras Shevchenko, the poet; Mykhailo Drahomanov, Ivan Franko and Mykhailo Pavlyk, the founders of the Radical movement and outstanding writers; Mykhailo Hrushevsky, historian and first president of the UNR in 1918; and Stepan Melnychuk and Petro Sheremeta, two CPWU activists executed by Polish authorities in 1922 for their insurgent partisan activities in Galicia. There was even an M. Kachkovsky Hall in Peno dedicated to the mid-nineteenth century patron of Galician Russophilism. It appears to have been the only Russophile/Russian Orthodox hall of this kind.

As Andrij Makuch has indicated, in terms of affiliation and ownership the narodni domy fell into one of three categories: independent, Catholic, pro-Communist.[164] The first narodni domy were usually established by laymen who had been exposed to populist, radical and socialist ideas prior to emigrating from Galicia and Bukovyna. They believed that in Canada, where Ukrainians of Greek Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant persuasions lived side by side, community organizations should be established on secular, non-denominational principles.[165] Accordingly, most narodni domy were initially owned and operated by an independent society that excluded clergymen from the executive. The constitution of such societies might even stipulate that its property could not pass into the hands of any party or religious sect or denomination. By the 1930s however, many of the "independent" narodni domy had close ties with the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. Some had even become affiliated with the pro-Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Union of Ukrainian Community Centres (Soiuz Ukrainskykh Narodnykh Domiv--SUND).

Catholic halls were usually affiliated "with a local parish and were known alternatively as parish halls (parokhiialni domy), national halls (narodni domy), Catholic halls (katolytski domy) or Catholic national halls (katolytski narodni domy)."[166] Although Catholic halls had been erected as early as 1917 in Edmonton and Mundare, very few seem to have been constructed prior to the 1930s. By then it was becoming apparent that the Church would have to provide its parishioners with its own narodni domy. The "independent" halls, if they were not drawing close to the "schismatic" Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church were too secular and anticlerical for the tastes of devout Catholics. Even more dangerous from the Catholics' point of view were the "atheistic", pro-Communist Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (Tovarystvo Ukrainskykh Robitnycho-Farmerskykh Domiv--TURF-Dim) halls which emerged in the mid-1920s.

The Ukrainian Labour Temple Association (renamed Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association in 1924) had been established in Winnipeg in 1919 to replace the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party which had been suppressed by the government under war-time regulations. The ULFTA established locals all across Canada, wherever USDP branches had formerly been located, began to publish a weekly newspaper, and expanded into the countryside after 1925.[167] As the only Ukrainian association in Canada to give unequivocal support to the communist regimes in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a whole, the ULFTA was isolated within Ukrainian Canadian society.

Nevertheless, the network of robitnycho-farmerski domy (ULFTA halls) was able to expand rapidly during the 1920s and 1930s. According to Makuch, "three major factors may explain the reason for this: leadership, patriotic appeal and service."[168] Alone among Ukrainian organizations, the ULFTA systematically trained and brought new cadres up through the ranks. ULFTA organizers appealed to Ukrainian patriotism in two ways. They argued that the revolution and civil war of 1917-21 had solved the social and national questions in Ukraine by establishing a Ukrainian workers' state. Prior to the 1930s it was difficult to challenge this argument if one did not know exactly what was happening inside the CPSU. The ULFTA also appealed to Ukrainian patriotism by strongly condemning the occupation of western Ukraine by Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia; by creating an Association to Aid the Western Ukrainian Liberation Movement (ToDOVYRNAZU); and by suggesting that western Ukraine would be "liberated" by Soviet forces. Finally, the services provided by the ULFTA were unique. It was the only Ukrainian organization that consistently occupied itself with labour and farmer politics. Likewise, only the ULFTA halls were provided with trained personnel who could teach music and train drama groups. Smaller halls which could not afford to maintain a professional instructor benefited from a steady flow of guest lecturers and performing groups from larger ULFTA centres. The best concerts were held at the ULFTA halls. In Myroslav Irchan, a 1922 émigré with first hand experience of the revolution and the struggle against Polish occupation, the ULFTA had a kind of dramatist-in-residence at its Winnipeg headquarters. Irchan wrote and produced a number of plays which made a deep impression in many rural communities during his brief sojourn in Canada (1922-29).[169]

The ULFTA made rapid progress in large urban areas like Winnipeg and Toronto, and in mining, lumbering and railroad centres. Expansion among farmers was much slower. However, the greatest successes in rural areas were in Alberta. Some of the farmers in the province had worked in mining and railroad construction where they had become imbued with socialist ideas. During the 1920s they either gained control of existing narodni domy and affiliated them with the ULFTA, or they erected brand new ULFTA halls. In Lanuke, southeast of Two Hills, young men who had worked in the mines and lumber camps, where they had joined the USDP during the war, assumed control of the Mykhailo Pavlyk narodnyi dim shortly after 1920. In 1925 the hall joined the ULFTA.[170] The Taras Shevchenko halls in Vegreville and Smoky Lake experienced schisms culminating in the construction of new ULFTA halls in both centres. The original halls affiliated with SUND. A similar schism, which rent the Mykhailo Hrushevsky narodnyi dim in North Smoky Lake in 1928-29 culminated in arson. In Pruth a compromise was reached between warring factions. Members of the Yurii Fedkovych narodnyi dim decided to allow political meetings to be held in their hall regardless of party affiliation.[171]

By 1940 there were 17 Catholic narodni domy and 30 ULFTA halls. The remainder were, as far as can be ascertained, "independent."[172] Within the bloc settlement ULFTA halls were concentrated in the northwest, especially along the CNR line between Warspite and Spedden and in the east, especially in the Two Hills-Myrnam area. These, it will be recalled, were precisely the areas where agricultural progress lagged well behind the rest of the province. There were no ULFTA halls in the southwest which was a Catholic and Russophile stronghold, and where agricultural progress was better.

The history of the Kiew ULFTA hall, located eight miles southwest of Lanuke, illustrates the process whereby narodni domy were absorbed into the ULFTA network. In 1922 a group led by Bill Yuskow (Vasyl Iuskiv) decided to build a non-denominational farmers' hall that would function as an educational centre (osvitnyi budynok). After obtaining $25 contributions from 50 persons, the group engaged a carpenter, two assistants and a host of volunteers. By the spring of 1924, the hall was ready for use. Yet, within five years, the unaffiliated farmers' hall had drawn close to the ULFTA. The Catholics who had participated in its construction had left the society and built a second hall--the Ivan Franko Ukrainian National Hall--about one mile to the south. This hall was incorporated with the Church and put directly under the control of the parish priest. Caught in between, the small Russian Orthodox group was left with the option of belonging nowhere or joining the ULFTA hall. They chose the second option.[173]

In Kiew, as in nearby Lanuke, there were many young men who had come into contact with Ukrainian socialists while working in Edmonton or on the railroads. Bill Yuskow had returned to Kiew in 1918 after serving four years in the Canadian Expeditionary Force. He was a man of pronounced socialist sympathies. The proximity of the Lanuke ULFTA hall also exercised a strong influence on developments in Kiew. However, two factors in particular were responsible for the Kiew hall's affiliation with the ULFTA: visits from ULFTA organizers, speakers and performing groups, and, return visits by groups from Kiew with ULFTA locals in Lanuke, Vegreville and Hillock-Ranfurly. These regular inter-visitations bred "genuine grass roots support for the ULFTA."[174] By 1928 a ULFTA local had been organized, in 1929 the farmers' hall had signed its land over to the ULFTA, and by the mid-1930s the hall and local were integrated into the mainstream of ULFTA activity.

As in the narodni domy and ULFTA halls all across Canada, activity reached a peak in the Kiew ULFTA hall in the mid-1930s and then declined. The Great Depression ultimately forced more men, including many local activists, to scatter in search of employment. War drew them into the armed forces and the large urban centres. Both contributed to the decline of the _narodni domy_ and the rural communities which had built them.

ENDNOTES

Chapter Four: The Rural Community and its Institutions

1. Radomir B. Bilash, "The Colonial Development of East Central Alberta and its Effect on Ukrainian Immigrant Settlement to 1930" (Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1983), 100. The introduction recapitulates Bilash's findings.

2. Charles H. Young, The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1931), 75.

3. Ibid., 79.

4. A very small fraction of the Ukrainian immigrants from eastern Galicia were Roman Catholics. Ukrainian immigrants from central Ukraine in the Russian Empire belonged to the Russian Orthodox Church. There were very few of these in Alberta. There was also a handful of Baptists among those who emigrated from the Russian Empire.

5. The Holy Synod had been established in 1700 by Peter the Great. It replaced the Patriarch of Moscow as the highest authority in the Russian Orthodox Church. The partriarchate was renewed after the fall of the Romanovs.

6. Paul Yuzyk, The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada 1918-1951 (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1981), 34.

7. See Iuliian Bachynsky, Ukrainska immigratsiia v Ziedynenykh Derzhavakh (Lviv, 1914). Bohdan Procko, Ukrainian Catholics in America: A History (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982) is a sanitized account which conceals more than it informs.

8. Mykhailo Marunchak, "Zmahanniia za nezalezhnist tserkvy" in Studii do istorii ukraintsiv Kanady II (Winnipeg: UVAN, 1967), 10.

9. The Bukovynians felt no national antagonism toward the Russians, unlike some of the more nationally conscious Galicians.

10. Bishop Legal was worried by Dmytriv's "independence." He concluded that the Ruthenians were "a race which is difficult to lead" and that "the foundations of their faith are unstable." Cited in Monder uchora i siohodni (Mundare: Basilian Fathers, 1969), 28.

11. The account was first published in the American weekly *Svoboda*, then the only Ukrainian-language newspaper in North America. It was later published as a separate booklet *Kanadiiska Rus'* (Mt. Carmel, Pa.: Svoboda, 1897). See pages 30-49 which deal with east central Alberta.

12. Marunchak, 23-24.

13. The Edna-Star conflict was not resolved until 1907, when the Privy Council in London awarded the church to the Russian Orthodox trustees. For an account of the case see J.G. MacGregor, *Vilni Zemli (Free Lands): The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969), 198-203.

14. In addition to Bachynsky, see Michael Palij, "Early Ukrainian Immigration to the United States and the Conversion of the Ukrainian Catholic Parish in Minneapolis to Russian Orthodoxy" *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 15 (Winter 1983), 13-37.

15. Paul Robert Magocsi, "Carpatho-Rusyns" in S. Thernstrom, A. Orlov and O. Handlin, eds., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980), 204.

16. One of the few sources on the Russian Orthodox Church in Canada during this period is Panteleimon Bozhyk, *Tserkov ukraintsiv v Kanadi* (Winnipeg: Kanadyiskyi ukrainets, 1927). Bozhyk was a Ukrainian from Bukovyna who served as a priest of the Russian Orthodox Church in east central Alberta and Winnipeg until 1924. He then converted to Greek Catholicism. I have been obliged to draw heavily on Bozhyk, as well as examining the Russophile press published in Winnipeg and Edmonton during this period.

17. Bozhyk, 125-30. The leading Russophiles were Mykhailo Ostrovsky, Vasyl Cherniak (editor of *Russkii golos*), Tymofei Fuiarchuk, Ivan and Kindrat Sheremeta, P. Dubets, P. Shevchuk, H.I. Khmiliar, T. Kleparchuk. For a photograph of these gentlemen see *Russkii narodnyi kaliendar* (Edmonton: Russkii golos, 1914).

18. *Illiustrovanyi kaliendar Russkago narodu* (Winnipeg: Russkii narod, 1918), 181.

19. *Ibid*., 170. The monks at Wostok were Nikon Mykulskii, Paladii Kostiuk, and Nykolai Shambura. The other priests were Rev. Hryhorii Soroka (Boian), Rev. Petro Dovheiko (Star), Rev. Evstakhii Borychevsky (Rabbit Hill), Rev. Ivan Zazuliak (Mundare), Rev. Pavel Hrytsai (Shandro) and Rev. Ivan Pukhalsky (Smoky Lake).

20. Ivan Bodrug, "Spomyny Pastora Ivana Bodruga" *Ievanhelska pravda* XVIII-XIX (1957-58). For a lengthier discussion see Orest T. Martynowych, "Village Radicals and Peasant Immigrants: The Social Roots of Factionalism Among Ukrainian Immigrants in Canada,

1896-1918" (Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1978), chapters III and V.

21. The Church was formally known as the "All-Russian Patriarchal Orthodox Church." Ustvolsky proclaimed himself "Seraphym, Bishop and Metropolitan of the Orthodox Russian Church for the Whole of America." The movement declined rapidly after Bodrug and his followers left. It had all but disappeared by 1908.

22. Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1907, pp. 16-18; The Presbyterian Record (February 1911), 56.

23. Ibid. The ministers working in east central Alberta were D. Jarema (Vegreville, Raith, Kolomea), M. Hutney (East Warwick), Efrem Perih (Warwick), D. Kerstuke (Hunka, Victoria/Pakan, Whitford), Florion Wojtzeko (?) (Wostok), John Zazuliak (Edmonton and vicinity).

24. Orest T. Martynowych, "'Canadianizing the Foreigner': Presbyterian Missionaries and Ukrainian Immigrants" in J. Rozumnyj, ed., New Soil -- Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada (Winnipeg: UAAS, 1983), 33-57.

25. Alexander Dombrowsky, Narys istorii ukrainskoho ievanhelsko-reformovanoho rukhu (New York and Toronto: Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance of North America, 1979), 196.

26. Paul Crath, "Survey of Various Communities in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, made under the Direction of the Boards of Social Service, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches" (n.d.). The report was prepared around 1917.

27. See the list of the parishes in Propamiatna knyha ukrainskoho narodu v Kanadi (Yorkton: Holos Spasytelia, 1941), 251-318. Prior to 1930 Greek Catholic parishes has been organized, and in most cases churches built, in the following localities: Hilliard, Star/Peno (by 1900); Round Hill, Mundare, Borszczow (1903); Edmonton, Waugh, New Sokal/Kopernik, Wostok, Spas Moskalyk, St. Michael (1904); Kiew, Chipman, Smoky Lake (1905); Holden, Torsby Plain Lake (1907); Hay Lake (1908); Manly (1909); Derwent, Redwater, Stryj (1910); Vegreville, Delph, Innisfree (2), Skaro, Cookville (1911); Downing (1912); Northern Valley, Eldorena, Smoky Lake, Spedden (1913); Derwent-rural, Radway, Bellis (1914); Calgary (1915); Egremont, Thorhild, Krakow, Myrnam (1917); Leduc, Leesnore (1918); Angle Lake (1919); Vilna (1920); Sokal (1921); Lethbridge (1928).

28. Frances Swyripa, "The Ukrainians and Private Education" in M.R. Lupul, ed., A Heritage in Transition (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), 248-49.

29. A good discussion of the distinguishing characteristics of the Greek Catholic clergy in Galicia may be found in John-Paul Himka, "The Greek Catholic Church and Ukrainian Society in Galicia" (Unpublished paper, Edmonton, 1981).

30. Propamiatna knyha (1941), 49.

31. An article which does not do justice to the issue which it purports to clarify is Stella Hryniuk, "The Bishop Budka Controversy: A New Perspective" Canadian Slavonic Papers XXIII (2) (1981), 154-65.

32. Kanadyiskyi rusyn 26 April 1913.

33. Ibid.

34. Kanadyiskyi rusyn 24 January 1914, 25 April 1914; Ranok 5 November 1913; Ukrainskyi holos 27 May 1914.

35. The "Regulations" are cited at length in Paul Yuzyk, "The History of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church of Canada" (Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1948), chapter VIII.

36. Kaliendar Kanadyiskoho ukraintsia 1920 (Winnipeg: Kanadyiskyi ukrainets, 1919), n.d. 10-11.

37. Magocsi, "Russians" in Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, 889.

38. Kanadyiskyi rusyn 25 October 1916.

39. Martynowych (1978), 162-68; Yuzyk (1981), 66-77.

40. Yuzyk (1981), 85.

41. Ibid., 109.

42. There were no Bishops present because none of the Russian Orthodox hierarchs sympathized with the Ukrainian national movement and its desire for an autocephalous Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

43. N.A. Bochanesky, "Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Alberta" in Ukrainians in Alberta I (Edmonton: Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta, 1975), 127-29.

44. William Kostash, "Faith and Determination--the Story of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Alberta" in Ibid., 129-45. Also see the information in Frances Swyripa, "Rural Communities" (Unpublished paper, Edmonton, 1976). Some information may also be gleaned from the various Alberta local histories, although in general they are very disappointing in this regard.

45. Yuzyk (1981), 83.

46. Pravoslavnyi vistnyk (Winnipeg) contains much scattered information on the clergy and origins of the Church. Also see Yuzyk (1981), 117.

47. Kostash, 134.

48. T.C. Byrne, "The Ukrainian Community in North Central Alberta" (Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Alberta, 1937), 53-60.

49. I have relied on Bozhyk and the Russophile press.

50. The Carpatho-Rusyns within the Russian Orthodox Church in the USA referred to themselves as "Carpatho-Russians"; none of Adam's Canadian or Alberta followers were Carpatho-Rusyns, although there were some Greek Catholic Carpatho-Rusyns in the Lethbridge area.

51. Druh naroda 14 February 1930 suggests that Adam had subordinated himself to Bishop Appolinarii of the zahranychnyi synod (?). Bozhyk describes Apollinarii as a Volhynian Bishop who was working in the USA as an ordinary parish priest.

52. Pravoslavnyi vistnyk IV (10) (October 1927), a Ukrainian Greek Orthodox publication, reported that Russian Orthodox supporters of Platon and Adam were fighting in Mundare. The wife of Rev. Ivakhniuk, a supporter of Adam, had been beaten up when opponents raided the priest's house.

53. There is no evidence in the Russophile press of the 1920s to suggest that Bukovynians were as deeply involved in the controversy as were Galicians.

54. Druh naroda 15 February 1929.

55. Byrne, 54.

56. Ibid., 58.

57. Ibid.

58. Yuzyk (1981), 137.

59. N.N. Svirsky, Tudy lynut nashi sertsia: istoriia monderskoho monastyria (Mundare: Basilian Fathers, 1963), 54.

60. Kaliendar Kanadyiskoho ukraintsia 1928 (Winnipeg: Kanadyiskyi ukrainets, n.d.), 8-11.

61. Propamiatna knyha (1941), 327-29.

62. Byrne, 56.

63. G.N. Emery, "Methodist Missions Among the Ukrainians" Alberta Historical Review XIX (2) (1971), 8.

64. Missionary Bulletin IX (1912-13), 96-98.

65. Emery, 9.

66. Missionary Bulletin V (1907-08), 223, 451; E.D. McLaren, "The Perils of Immigration" The Presbyterian (7 December 1905).

67. Vivian Olender "The Canadian Methodist Church and the Gospel of Assimilation, 1900-1925" Journal of Ukrainian Studies 13 (Fall 1982), 66. Also see the same author's "The Reaction of the Canadian Methodist Church Towards Ukrainian Immigrants: Rural Missions as Agencies of Assimilation" (Unpublished MTh Thesis, University of St. Michael's College, University of Toronto, 1976).

68. The Presbyterian Record XLIV (4) (April 1919), 102.

69. Vivian Olender, "'Save Them For The Nation': Methodist Rural Home Missions as Agencies of Assimilation" Journal of Ukrainian Studies 15 (Winter 1983), 41-42; "The Education of Foreign Chidlren" The Presbyterian (27 July 1911).

70. See Emery and Olender (1983).

71. Stephen Urchak, "Boys' and Girls' Homes in Vegreville" in Ukrainians in Alberta II (Edmonton: Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta, 1981), 47-53; Peter Svarich, Spomyny 1877-1904 (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1976), 234-37.

72. Emery, 12.

73. Svarich, 177.

74. Missionary Messenger V (1918), 283.

75. Missionary Messenger III (1916), 150-51.

76. Ibid.

77. Olender (1983), 48.

78. Urchak, 51.

79. Only the Ukrainian Presbyterian congregation in Oshawa, Ontario did not join the United Church, preferring to remain Presbyterian.

80. Cited in Byrne, 48.

81. Ibid., 53. Also see Kyshenkovyi kaliendaryk na 1939 rik (Winnipeg: Kanadyiskyi ranok, 1939).

82. Survey histories of the Alberta school system include: Harry T. Sparby, "A History of the Alberta School System to 1925" (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Stanford University, 1958); Isidore Goresky, "The Beginning and Growth of the Alberta School System" (Unpublished MEd Thesis, University of Alberta, 1945); John W. Chalmers, Schools of the Foothills Province (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967); Robert S. Patterson, "History of Teacher Education in Alberta" in D.C. Jones, N.M. Sheehan and R.M. Stamp, eds., Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West (Calgary: Detselig, 1979), 192-207.

83. Province of Alberta, Department of Education, Annual Report 1930, Table 33, p. 111. (Hereafter Annual Report . . .)

84. Sparby, 141.

85. See "Regulations of the Department of Education" in Annual Report 1906, 72.

86. Sparby, 144.

87. Calculated from Annual Report 1930, 111.

88. Calculated from statistical information in Annual Reports.

89. In addition to Patterson, see G. Mann, "Alberta Normal Schools: A Descriptive Study of Their Development, 1905 to 1945" (Unpublished MEd Thesis, University of Alberta, 1961).

90. Chalmers, 32.

91. Calculated from Table 33, Annual Report 1930, 111.

92. This argument is advanced by Patterson.

93. See Mann for a detailed account of teacher training, especially, 19-27, 35-36, 70-77.

94. Sparby, 169.

95. William Kostash and Fred Hannochko, "Education and Teachers" in Ukrainians in Alberta I, 181.

96. Marilyn Barber, "Canadianization Through the Schools of the Prairie Provinces Before World War I: The Attitudes and Aims of the English-Speaking Majority" in M.L. Kovacs, ed., Ethnic Canadians: Cultures and Education (Regina: CPRC, 1978), 289.

97. Annual Report 1915, 78.

98. Anna Navalkowski, "Shandro School" Alberta Historical Review XVIII (4) (1970), 10.

99. The History of Two Hills including Lanuke District (n.p., n.d.), 34-35.

100. M. Stechishin, "Nashe shkilnytstvo" Narodnyi kaliendar: Ukrainska rodyna (Winnipeg, 1915), 150-60.

101. Annual Report 1909, 60-61.

102. Annual Report 1911, 78-79.

103. Annual Report 1913, 45; Annual Report 1915, 79.

104. Wasyl Swystun, "Nashe shkilnytstvo v Kanadi" Kaliendar Ukrainskoho holosu (Winnipeg, 1915), 122-29; Wasyl Mihaychuk, "Ukrainsko-angliiske uchytelstvo v Kanadi" Kaliendar Ukrainskoho holosu (Winnipeg, 1915), 130-36; Stechishin, op.cit.

105. A.T.A. Magazine IV (4) (September 1923), 20; V (3) (August 1924), 18; V (7) (December 1924), 3; Annual Report 1924, 71-72; Annual Report 1925, 77.

106. Barber, 286; Kostash and Hannochko, 189.

107. According to the Annual Report 1906, 280 of 924 teachers employed in Alberta in 1906 were males.

108. Dreams and Destinies: Andrew and District (Andrew: Andrew Historical Society, 1980), 204-05.

109. Annual Report 1907, 57-58.

110. J.G. MacGregor, A History of Alberta (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1981), 212-13.

111. Vegreville in Review I (Vegreville: Vegreville and District Historical Society, 1980), 193-94.

112. Svarich, 231-32.

113. Dreams and Destinies, 201.

114. The History of Two Hills, 35.

115. Ibid.

116. For a survey of developments in the three Prairie provinces see Cornelius J. Jaenen, "Ruthenian Schools in Western Canada, 1897-1919" Paedagogica Historia X (3) (1970), 517-41; J. Skwarok, OSBM, The Ukrainian Settlers in Canada and Their Schools (Edmonton: Basilian Press, 1959).

117. Skwarok, 66. In 1913, Principal Stickle tried to force Greek Catholic students at the School to attend Sunday services at a Presbyterian Church thereby provoking a revolt among the students in December.

118. Annual Report 1928, 41.

119. For a list of the holidays observed in many Ukrainian school districts see Jessie Marion Deverell, "The Ukrainian Teacher as an Agent of Cultural Assimilation" (Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Toronto, 1941), 49.

120. Annual Report 1929, 52-53.

121. Young, 193-95.

122. Annual Report 1913, 39-49. All subsequent quotations are from these pages.

123. Annual Report 1914, 68-69.

124. See especially Ukrainskyi holos (Winnipeg) from 11 June 1913 through 1 July 1914. This issue is also examined by Skwarok, 94-101; Martynowych (1978), 204-10; M.R. Lupul "Ukrainian-language Education in Canada" in A Heritage in Transition, 228-34; Andrij Makuch, "In the Populist Tradition: Organizing the Ukrainian Farmer in Alberta, 1905-1935" (Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Alberta, 1983), 49-73; and, William A. Czumer, Recollections About the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada translated by L. Laychuk (Edmonton: CIUS, 1981), 96-126, a first hand account by the teacher at the very centre of the controversy. Standard accounts such as those by J.G. MacGregor in Vilni Zemli and John W. Chalmers, "Strangers in Our Midst" Alberta Historical Review XVI (1) (1968), 18-23, uncritically reproduce Fletcher's version published in the Annual Review 1913 and 1914.

125. Makuch, 46-47.

126. Ibid., 56.

127. Ibid., 61.

128. Svarich, 231-33.

129. Czumer, 103; Lupul, 231. The names of some of the dismissed teachers were: H. Gavinchuk, Ivan Genik, Wasyl Czumer, P. Bozhyk, M. Goshko, Kozlovsky, Mykytiuk. Kanadyiskyi rusyn 19 July 1913.

130. This incident received wide coverage in the Ukrainian press: Ukrainskyi holos 3 September 1913, Kanadyiskyi rusyn 6 September 1913. The Ukrainian press identifies the victims and claims that on a number of other occasions English-speaking teachers in Alberta had made sexual advances toward older school girls. On a number of occasions Ukrainian girls left school in order to avoid this. There is a cryptic reference to the incident in Czumer, 123. The offender is identified as a Mr. W. Dukenman, a one-time patent medicine salesman. Warren Dykeman, a single, temperate, Baptist was a native of New Brunswick, born in 1869. He entered the Fort Saskatchewan Gaol on 27 August 1913, two days after being arrested at Kolomea. He was charged with carnal knowledge of a girl under 14, indecent assault on a girl under 12, and attempted indecent assault on a girl under 12. During the next two months he was disciplined on a number of occasions for refusing to scrub his cell. On 31 October, 1913 he was taken to Vegreville to stand trial before Judge Taylor (also a native of New Brunswick). Judge Taylor dismissed the charges. I have been unable to find any reference to Dykeman's court appearance. However, it should not be assumed that he was an innocent man falsely accused by resentful settlers. During this period RNWMP officers lamented the frequency of "carnal knowledge of girls under 14" by school teachers and regretted the "difficulty of obtaining convictions owing to the lack of corroboration of the victim's evidence." The difficulty of obtaining evidence from 12 year-old Ukrainian girls who spoke little if any English must have been even greater. See Department of the Attorney General, Material from Fort Saskatchewan Gaol, PAA (Acc. 68.29), Box 1 (Punishment Book 1913) and Box 2 (Description Book, p. 213). Also see Canada, Sessional Papers vol. XLVII, no. 21, 1913, "Report of RNWMP 1912".

131. Czumer, 114-15.

132. According to Ukrainskyi holos Fletcher had broken the doors of Czumer's house and the school in order to install Mr. Armstrong. He also knocked down a woman who refused to surrender her horse. 24 December 1913.

133. Barber, 281; Neil Sutherland, Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth Century Consensus (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 211.

134. This is true of course. However Anglo-Canadian educators were blind to the social and psychological repercussions of unilingual education upon peasant immigrant children.

135. Barber, 283; also see Nancy M. Sheehan, "Indoctrination: Moral Education in the Early Prairie School House" in Jones, Sheehan and Stamp, eds., Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West, 222-35.

136. Memories of Mundare: A History of Mundare and Districts (Mundare: Mundare Historical Society, 1980), 142.

137. Marie Lesoway, "The Hawreliak House: A Structural History" (Unpublished Report, UCHV, HSS, Alberta Culture, 1982), 33.

138. Chas. O. Denney, "Letter to Editor" The A.T.A. Magazine VII (8) (February 1927), 19.

139. Annual Report 1929, 36.

140. Annual Report 1925, 91.

141. Alfred Fitzpatrick, Handbook For New Canadians (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1919), 56-57.

142. Western School Journal VI (1911), 253-55, 364-66.

143. Ukrainskyi holos 15 and 29 March 1916. Compare the article by Nagle, cited in n. 154 below. He reached similar conclusions.

144. Kostash and Hannochko, 193; Skwarok, 112.

145. Annual Report 1917, 58.

146. The statistics below are from Deverell.

147. Ibid., 65.

148. Ibid.

149. Ibid., 75.

150. Denney, A.T.A. Magazine (February 1927), 19.

151. Annual Report 1923, 58.

152. "The Weakest Link" A.T.A. Magazine V (9) (February 1925), 19; "Reply" (V) (12) (May 1925), 7-9.

153. Deverell, 104. Ukrainian teachers were also criticized for involvement in local Ukrainian factional politics, although it was conceded that only a minority was involved and that Ukrainian teachers were far more sympathetic to their pupils than was the typical English-speaking teacher. Leonard Bercuson, "Education in the Bloc Settlements of Western Canada" (Unpublished MA Thesis, McGill University, 1941), 165-70.

154. "Communications" A.T.A. Magazine V (11) (April 1925); 13; J.M. Nagle "Ukrainians and the Educational System" A.T.A. Magazine VII (3) (September 1926), 7-11; "Correspondence" A.T.A. Magazine VII (7) (January 1927), 18; Denney, Letter, A.T.A. Magazine (February 1927), 19; "Correspondence" A.T.A. Magazine VII (9) (March 1927), 20-21.

155. Demjan Hohol', "The Grekul House: Land Use and Structural History" (Unpublished Report, UCHV, HSS, Alberta Culture, 1984), 34-36.

156. Lesoway (1982), 56-59.

157. The 110 localities were not all within the bloc settlement proper, although all were located in central Alberta, east of Edmonton.

158. Halyna Dytyniak, "Luzan Grocery Store and Yard" (Progress Report, UCHV archives, Old St. Stephen's College).

159. Dmytro Prokop and William Kostash, "National Homes or Narodni Domy" in Ukrainians in Alberta I, 149-80.

160. Andrij Makuch, "The Kiew ULFTA Hall: A Structural History" (Unpublished Report, UCHV, HSS, Alberta Culture, 1983), 58-62.

161. *Ibid*. 119ff.

162. Prokop and Kostash, 150.

163. Makuch, *op*. *cit*., 189-90 has provided a list of 101 Ukrainian halls constructed in Alberta before 1940 and registered in provincial Amusement Licence Application files and Fire Inspection Reports. I have found references to nine other halls which do not seem to be mentioned in the list, while consulting secondary sources.

164. *Ibid*., 74-76.

165. The prototype of the independent *narodni domy* was the *narodnyi dim* organized in Winnipeg in 1912. See Martynowych (1978), 156-57.

166. Makuch, 76.

167. For a general history of the ULFTA, which however concentrates on the post-1945 period, see John Kolasky, *The Shattered Illusion: The History of Ukrainian Pro-Communist Organizations in Canada* (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1979).

168. Makuch, 42 ff.

169. For an examination of Ukrainian Canadian drama during this period see: Iroida L. Wynnyckyj, "Ukrainian Canadian Drama from the Beginnings of Immigration to 1942" (Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Waterloo, 1976).

170. *The History of Two Hills*, 43-49.

171. Prokop and Kostash, 168, 172; *Vegreville in Review* I, 256.

172. Calculated from the list in Makuch, 189-90.

173. *Ibid.*, 21-22.

174. *Ibid.*, 18.

Chapter Five: The Railroad Town and its Services

Chapter Five: The Railroad Town and its Services

1. Introduction

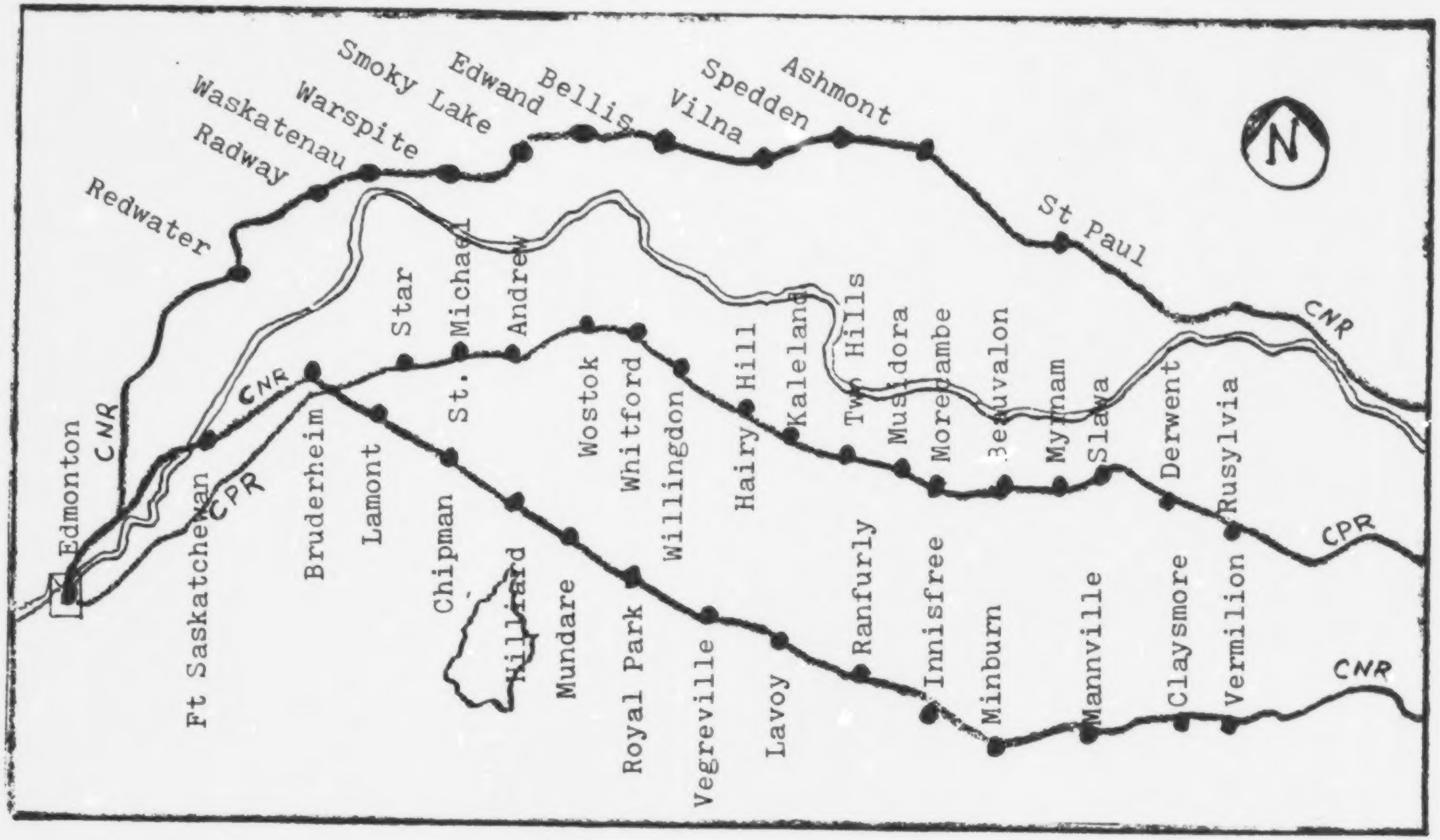
The rural communities examined in the previous Chapter had developed spontaneously. They attempted to reproduce, in part if not entirely, the Old World villages in which the immigrants had dwelt for centuries. In east central Alberta the rural communities attempted to satisfy the social and cultural needs of the immigrants and they helped preserve Old Country customs and traditions. Towns[1] on the other hand were established according to a preconceived formula devised by railway companies interested in maximizing their own profits. They reproduced the capitalist market economy which was already well established in Eastern Canada, and in the process they undermined self-sufficient rural communities with production-for-use economies such as those of the Hutterities, Mennonites and Dukhobors.[2]

Since the railway companies could not depend on passenger traffic for profits, they naturally encouraged the development of commercial grain farming. Grain produced on the Prairies for Eastern Canadian and foreign markets, and manufactured goods produced in the east for Prairie farmers would have to be transported by rail, thereby guaranteeing steady traffic and profits for the railway companies. To encourage commercial grain farming evenly-spaced stopping points called sidings, where grain could be loaded onto trains, were built along railroad lines. Because it was not profitable for farmers to haul grain more than 10 to 15 miles, sidings were built at seven or eight mile intervals. Townsites were surveyed at most sidings according to a "symmetric" "I-town" layout or an "orthogonal" "T-town" layout.[3] Railway stations, grain elevators and general stores were the first structures to appear on the townsites. They were usually followed by lumber yards, livery stables, garages and service stations, small hotels, blacksmith shops, cafes and billiard halls. Only a few of the larger towns were able to offer a greater diversity of commercial services.[4] Nevertheless by providing facilities for the sale of grain and the purchase of manufactured commodities even the smallest towns helped to entrench capitalism on the Prairies.

Between 1905 and 1930, 46 railroad sidings were built along the three railroads that passed through the Ukrainian bloc settlement. Townsites were surveyed at all but four or five sidings. In sharp contrast to the surrounding countryside, which was populated by Ukrainian farmers, most railroad towns of east central Alberta remained English-speaking islands until 1930 and beyond. Ukrainians constituted a majority of the population in only eight of 21 towns with over 100 inhabitants in 1931. Ukrainian businessmen owned a majority of the business establishments in only 14 of 28 towns with at least 10 such establishments. None of the largest and most profitable enterprises -- grain elevators, banks, lumber yards, creameries -- belonged to Ukrainians. Nor for that matter did they often belong to local settlers of British origin. Rather, they were usually the property of national or international corporations whose headquarters were located in London, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Calgary and Edmonton. Their profits usually accrued to men who had never set eyes on east central Alberta.

Their role in subordinating east central Alberta to external capitalist interests notwithstanding, the railroads and the towns also played a positive role in the life of Ukrainian settlers. By opening up the possibility of commercial grain farming they enabled Ukrainian peasant agriculturalists to break out of the dull routine and poverty that accompanied subsistence farming. By making medical, legal and educational facilities more widely available and more readily accessible they helped to break down the isolation and extend the social and cultural horizons of the peasant immigrants. By 1930 there were at least six high schools, eight Alberta Provincial Police detachments and 10 hospitals operating in towns within the bloc settlement area. These institutions helped raise the rate of literacy, improved health care and hygienic standards, eroded fatalism and superstition, and promoted respect for the law among peasant immigrants who, in some instances, still identified all authority with oppression.[5]

This chapter surveys the railroad towns of east central Alberta and the services -- commercial and otherwise -- available in these towns; identifies the individuals who controlled the most profitable enterprises; estimates the strength of Ukrainian businessmen and professionals in the area; and concludes with an examination of the role played by the Alberta Provincial Police in controlling crime in east central Alberta.



N
Edmonton
CNR
Redwater
Radway
Waskatenau
Warspite
Smoky Lake
Edwand
Bellis
Vilna
Spedden
Ashmont
St Paul
CNR
Ft Saskatchewan
CPR
CNR
Bruderheim
Lamont
Chipman
Hilliard
Mundare
Royal Park
Vegreville
Lavoy
Ranfurly
Innisfree
Minburn
Mannville
Claysmore
Vermilion
CNR
Star
St. Michael
Andrew
Wostok
Whitford
Willingdon
Hairy Hill
Kaleland
Two Hills
Musidora
Morecambe
Beauvalon
Myrnam
Slawa
Derwent
Rusylvia
CPR

Map 17. The Railroad Towns of East Central Alberta.

Adapted from Radomir Bilash, "The Colonial Development of East Central Alberta and its Effect on Ukrainian Immigrant Settlement to 1930." Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1983. Page 37.

2. Railroads and Railroad Towns

Between 1905 and 1930 three railroads were constructed through the Ukrainian bloc settlement in east central Alberta. In 1905 the Canadian Northern Railway's (CNoR) main line from Winnipeg to Edmonton was built along the southern boundary of the bloc settlement. More than a decade later, between 1917 and 1920 another railroad was constructed by the CNoR and its successor the Canadian National Railway (CNR) along the northern boundary of the bloc settlement. Finally in 1927 a Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) line was built through the centre of the bloc settlement.

Wherever the railroad appeared a capitalist market economy was sure to follow. The railroads were not only built to facilitate the colonization of the region by homesteaders, they were built to convey the settlers' agricultural produce to distant markets. As a result, most railroad towns functioned as little more than grain collection centres and commodity distribution points. However, some townsites, especially those along the 1905 CNoR line which were situated near established pre-railroad communities, also offered a variety of non-commercial services. By providing medical care, educational facilities, and recreational services these towns helped to extend the social and cultural horizons of the immigrants. In this capacity they played a positive role in east central Alberta and transcended the parasitical role assigned to them by the railway companies.

A. The 1905 Canadian Northern Railway Line

The CNoR was the first railway to enter east central Alberta. Tracks had been laid east to west from Winnipeg to Edmonton. They spanned a distance of about 112.7 miles between the towns of Vermilion and Fort Saskatchewan along the southern boundary of the bloc settlement. This stretch of railroad was served by 15 sidings, the average distance between sidings being about eight miles. With the exception of Raith/Royal Park and Ranfurly, townsites on this line were surveyed according to the T-town layout which had become well-established elsewhere on the Prairies by the turn of the century. Raith/Royal Park and Ranfurly were surveyed according to the I-town layout.[6]

Of all the railway towns on this line Vermilion, at the southeastern edge of the bloc settlement had the greatest potential for growth because it was designated a divisional point where trains would change engines. As a result a larger townsite was surveyed in anticipation of the manpower, machinery and specialized buildings which this function would entail. Vegreville, Mundare, Lamont and Fort Saskatchewan also grew quickly because important pre-railway communities had existed near these townsites at Old Vegreville, Beaver Lake, Edna-Star and Fort Saskatchewan. When the railway was constructed businesses and institutions which had been established in these communities were moved to the new townsite locations. Table 14 reveals these five townsites developed into the largest centres on this stretch of the CNoR.

Table 14. Population of Towns along 1905 CNoR line[7]

	1911	1921	1931
Fort Saskatchewan	782	982	1001
Bruderheim	132	255	280
Lamont	197	419	507
Chipman	---	225	284
Hilliard	---	---	---
Mundare	152	497	832
Raith/Royal Park	---	---	---
Vegreville	1029	1479	1659
Lavoy	127	98	151
Ranfurly	---	---	122
Innisfree	100	226	227
Minburn	---	175	119
Mannville	169	275	307
Claysmore	---	---	---
Vermilion	625	1272	1270

Fort Saskatchewan, which was incorporated as a town in 1904, as well as Vegreville and Vermilion, which were incorporated as towns in

1906, were not only the largest railroad towns in the bloc settlement area, they were also the only legally incorporated towns in the area prior to 1930. By 1910 Dun and Bradstreet's Mercantile Agency Reference Book listed 30 business establishments in Fort Saskatchewan, 40 in Vermilion and 48 in Vegreville.[8] A decade later Vegreville and Vermilion had over 70 enterprises each. In addition to the grain elevators, general stores, lumber yards, implement dealerships, blacksmith shops, livery stables, hotels, restaurants and billiard halls found in all but the smallest railroad towns, Vegreville and Vermilion also boasted automobile dealers, carriage makers, jewellers, tailors, millinery shops, shoemakers, florists, printers and booksellers, druggists, undertakers and moving picture theatres. By 1930 Fort Saskatchewan, Mundare, Lamont and Mannville also offered many of these additional "luxury" services. The smaller towns rarely provided a broad spectrum of services. The smallest -- Raith/Royal Park and Claysmore -- consisted of little more than a general store and a row of grain elevators. Not even a permanent railroad station adorned these two sidings or the one at Hilliard. Table 15 provides an estimate of the number of business enterprises in the towns along the CNoR line.

Table 15. Number of Businesses in Towns along 1905 CNoR line[9]

	1910	1920*	1929
Fort Saskatchewan	30	41	34
Bruderheim	10	20	27
Lamont	13	41	31
Chipman	7	24	27
Hilliard	---	4	10
Mundare	15	39	47
Raith/Royal Park	---	1	1
Vegreville	48	71	70
Lavoy	6	11	13
Ranfurly	4	10	14
Innisfree	12	29	16
Minburn	7	14	12
Mannville	4	32	26
Claysmore	1	---	1
Vermilion	40	70	46

* Includes grain elevator companies (unlike 1910 and 1929 figures).

During the 1920s business activity ceased to expand along the CNoR line. This was due to three factors: the construction of the CNoR/CNR line along the northern boundary of the bloc settlement, greatly reduced immigration, and generally unfavorable economic conditions prior to 1926 and after 1929.

As may be expected the educational, religious, medical and legal services available in the towns along the 1905 CNoR line were more extensive than those available in the towns along the lines built in 1917-20 and 1927. Table 16 provides an estimate of the services available around 1930.

B. The 1917 Canadian Northern Railway/Canadian National Railway Line

Construction of the CNoR/CNR line through the northern part of the bloc settlement was initiated by the CNoR in 1914. Unlike the other two railways in the region the CNoR/CNR line was built from west to east. By 1917 a 43.1 mile segment had been constructed from Edmonton to Radway. During that year over-expansion and strained war-time financial conditions led to the collapse of the CNoR Company and a number of other railroad companies. As a result they were nationalized and reconstituted as the Canadian National Railway Company in 1918. MacKenzie and Mann the directors of the CNoR were retained to perform the same function with the CNR. By the fall of 1919 the CNR completed a 121.6 mile segment of track from Radway to Ashmont.[11]

There were 12 sidings between Redwater and St. Paul de Metis along the CNoR/CNR line. With the exception of the Waskatenau, Bellis and St. Paul townsites, which were surveyed according to the I-town layout, the townsites along the CNoR/CNR line were surveyed according to the T-town layout. The construction of this line broke the economic control over east central Alberta enjoyed by the towns on the 1905 CNoR line. The North Saskatchewan River emerged as a natural boundary between two hinterlands during the 1920s -- one served by the CNoR towns, the other by the new CNoR/CNR towns.

Table 16. Educational, Religious and Professional Services available in Towns along the 1905 CNoR line (c. 1930)[10]

	Public Schools	Public/High Schools	High Schools	Agricultural Schools	Churches	Lawyers	Veterinarians	Chiropractors	Dentists	Medical Doctors	Hospitals	Beds	Nurses	Attending MDs
Fort Saskatchewan	1		1		3	3	2			4				
Bruderheim		1			2	1								
Lamont		1			2	2				3	1	70	3	4
Chipman	1				3									
Hilliard	1													
Mundare	1		1		3	2			1	3	1	23	3	7
Raith/Royal Park														
Vegreville	1		1		6	6	1	1	3	4	2	61	6	7
Lavoy	1				2					1				
Ranfurly		1			3									
Innisfree		1			2	1				1				
Minburn	1				1									
Mannville	2				2	1				1	1	14	3	1
Claysmore														
Vermilion	1		1	1	5	3			2	2	1	20	4	2

English-language newspapers were published in Fort Saskatchewan (Record), Vegreville (Observer) and Vermilion.

There were only two pre-railway settlements of any significance in the area. One was at Pakan on the north shore of the North Saskatchewan River. A Hudson's Bay Company trading post (Fort Victoria) had existed there since the eighteenth century and a Methodist mission since the early 1860s. When the railway was built most of Pakan's businesses and institutions relocated on the Smoky Lake townsite. The advantages of rail communication outweighed those of the waning steamboat service on the North Saskatchewan. The other pre-railway settlement was at St. Paul de Metis at the northeastern edge of the bloc settlement. It had been established by Father Lacombe in 1896 for the purpose of introducing the Metis population to agriculture. When the original settlement failed to survive the area was settled by white French-speaking settlers. As Table 17 illustrates, these two settlements formed the nucleus of the largest railroad towns on the CNoR/CNR line.

Table 17. Population of Towns along 1917-20 CNoR/CNR line[12]

	1921	1926	1931
Redwater	---	---	---
Radway Centre	---	---	---
Waskatenau	---	---	---
Warspite	---	---	---
Smoky Lake	---	310	366
Edwand	---	---	---
Bellis	---	---	117
Vilna	---	150	151
Spedden	---	---	---
Ashmont	---	---	---
St. Paul de Metis	869	900	938

The range of mercantile services available in the towns along the CNoR/CNR line was narrower than in the older towns along the CNoR line in the south. While all towns had grain elevators and one or more general stores, and while most also featured one or two implement dealers, a livery barn and garage, a billiard hall, hotel, blacksmith shop and lumber yard, few other services were available outside Smoky Lake and St. Paul de Metis. In general there were fewer lumber yards, creameries, cafes/restaurants and auto dealers in the towns along this line. Edwand

Spedden and Ashmont consisted of one or two general stores, an implement dealership and a garage in addition to the grain elevators. No permanent railway stations were erected at Edwand, Spedden or Redwater. By 1929 Smoky Lake provided all the conventional services but few of the "luxury" services offered in towns like Vegreville and Vermilion. Although it boasted a photo studio and a drug store and stationary shop, the town had no auto dealers, tailors, milliners, florists or jewellers. This was only to be expected since the town was located in the heart of one of the poorest, least developed districts within the bloc settlement. St. Paul de Metis, which served an essentially French-speaking hinterland featured two tailors, a jeweller, a baker, an auto dealer, a pharmacy and a radio and electrical supply store. Table 18 provides an estimate of the number of business enterprises in the towns along the CNoR/CNR line.

Table 18. Number of Businesses in Towns along 1917-20 CNoR/CNR line[13]

	1920	1929
Redwater	2	10
Radway Centre	6	20
Waskatenau	20	22
Warspite	8	10
Smoky Lake	16	32
Edwand	3	2
Bellis	9	12
Vilna	2	20
Spedden	---	6
Ashmont	1	7
St. Paul de Metis	37	52

By 1929 the growth of the towns along the CNoR/CNR line was being inhibited by the construction of the CPR line through the centre of the bloc settlement. Towns like Bellis suffered as much of their business was drawn to the towns along the new railway.[14]

The educational, religious and professional services available in the newer towns along the CNoR/CNR line were also more modest than they were in the older towns along the CNoR line (see Table 19).

Table 19. Educational, Religious and Professional Services available in Towns along the 1917-20 CNoR/CNR line[15]

	Public Schools	Public/High Schools	High Schools	Agricultural Schools	Churches	Lawyers	Veterinarians	Chiropractors	Dentists	Medical Doctors	Hospitals	Beds	Nurses	Attending MDs
Redwater					1									
Radway Centre			1		4						1	21	2	5
Waskatenau	1				2	2				1				
Warspite	1				2									
Smoky Lake			1		5	2				3	1	13	4	1
Edwand	1				1									
Bellis	1				1									
Vilna					2					1	1	18	2	3
Spedden	2													
Ashmont	1				2									
St. Paul de Metis		1			2	7	1		1	3	1	35	6	6

None of the towns along the CNoR/CNR line had a newspaper or bookstore.

C. The 1927 Canadian Pacific Railway Line

In some places the distance from the 1905 CNoR line to the North Saskatchewan River was almost 30 miles. Because this was three times the ten mile average considered to be a normal hinterland for a railway line the CPR decided to build a line through the centre of the bloc settlement in 1927. The inhabitants of the central townships had been petitioning the Deputy Minister of Railways and Canals for railway service since

1918. They had pointed out that the absence of a railway had prevented the speedy delivery of medical supplies during the 1918 influenza epidemic and they had complained that the great distances to the nearest railway town prevented efficient grain marketing.

The segment of CPR track which passed through the bloc settlement spanned a distance of 109.4 miles between Bruderheim and Rusylvia. It was served by 20 sidings, the average distance between sidings being 5.76 miles. All but four of the sidings were surveyed for townsites: eight according to the T-town layout and eight according to the I-town layout. The Bruderheim, Elk Island and Josephburg sidings were not considered for townsite development because they were too close to the CNoR line. Slawa was not surveyed for a townsite because it was only 4.6 miles from the Myrnam townsite.[16]

Although farmers in the central townships had experienced hardships because of the absence of a railway, by 1929, when the CPR was fully operational, it was no longer as essential to the welfare of local farmers as it may have been a decade earlier. By 1929 improved roads and the proliferation of automobiles and trucks had integrated local farmers into the prevailing market system. Market and service routes within the bloc settlement area were focused northward and southward toward the CNoR and CNoR/CNR lines and away from the region through which the CPR built its line. As a result, Bilash has argued that "the CPR's primary task was to draw the flow of market goods to its own line" rather than to provide farmers with an essential service.[17] This motive also explains the multiplicity of sidings along the line. Regardless of what the underlying motive for the construction of the CPR line may have been, the line failed to turn the flow of market goods away from the two older railways although it did hurt some of the smaller towns on those railway lines.

By the time the CPR line was constructed through the centre of the bloc settlement the central townships were dotted with a number of rural communities. The most important of these -- Andrew -- provided telegraph, mechanical, blacksmith, milling and judicial services to the local population as well as outlets for the acquisition and sale of local farm produce. When the railroad arrived most businesses and some institutions moved from the old rural communities to the new railroad townsites. Since settlement had preceded railway contruction by about 20 years some of the townsites along this line were established and functioning shortly after they had been surveyed. Schools, churches and community halls were built only in those towns whose environs had not been served by such institutions, or where the inhabitants of the new townsite did not belong to the same ethnic group as the farmers in the surrounding countryside.

Not unexpectedly, prior to 1930/31 the population of these towns remained small and the services provided in them limited when compared to the towns on the older lines. By January 1930 in Star, Wostok, Whitford, Morecambe, Slawa and Rusylvia the only businesses beside the grain elevators were general and/or grocery stores. Musidora and St. Michael also had a blacksmith shop and a garage/implement dealer. The other towns had these basic services as well as lumber yards, hotels, restaurants and billiard halls. Automobile dealerships were located in Willingdon and Myrnam, drug stores in Willingdon and Two Hills, and privately owned generators for electrical lighting had been established at Willingdon, Kaleland and Two Hills. The "luxury" trades -- tailors, milliners, jewellers, florists, booksellers, printers -- had not set up businesses prior to 1930 in any of the towns along the CPR. Professionals -- doctors, dentisits, lawyers -- were also conspicuous by their absence.

Table 20. Population, Number of Businesses, and Educational, Religious and Professional Services available in Towns along the 1927 CPR line (c. 1930)[18]

	Population 1931	Businesses 1930	Public Schools	Public/High Schools	High Schools	Agricultural Schools	Churches	Lawyers	Veterinarians	Chiropractors	Dentists	Medical Doctors	Hospitals
Star	---	4	1										
St. Michael	---	12	1										
Andrew	115	20					1						
Wostok	---	4		1			3						
Whitford	---	3	1										
Willingdon	250	29	1									1	
Hairy Hill	---	18	1				1						
Kaleland	---	6	1										
Two Hills	149	25	1										
Musidora	---	5											
Morecambe	---	2											
Beauvalon	---	9	1										
Myrnam	131	22											
Slawa	---	1	1				1						
Derwent	107	15	1										
Rusylvia	---		1				1						

3. The Chain Businesses

The business enterprises which existed in the railroad towns of east central Alberta may be divided into three categories.[19] Businesses established on the initiative of local individuals constituted the first and largest category. They included the general stores, grocery stores and meat markets found in almost every town; the restaurants, hotels, blacksmith shops, livery stables and billiard halls found in most of the smaller towns; and tailor shops, jewelery stores, florists, millinery shops, and drug stores found in the larger towns. In most instances these enterprises could be run by one man and established with a relatively small investment. Many of these enterprises handled goods obtained in barter from the local population as well as selling imported manufactured goods. A second type of enterprise found in almost every town but one which was not of local origin was the dealership operated by an agent. Dealerships were usually established by local residents who wanted to supplement their existing income. Businesses operated by agents included oil (Imperial), gas, farm implement (John Deere, Massey-Harris), automobile (Ford) and insurance dealerships. The third type of enterprise was the chain business. These businesses, which were frequently the first to appear on the townsite, were coordinated by head offices which were rarely located inside the province. Their profits frequently benefited nationally or internationally controlled companies. The branch offices located in the railroad towns were operated by salaried employees whose security was envied by small independent businessmen. Besides the banks, grain elevators, lumber yards and creameries represented the most typical chain businesses in east central Alberta. These enterprises required a large capital investment and they yielded large profits. The remainder of this section will examine the evolution of these chain businesses in east central Alberta and identify some of the principal owners.

A. Grain Elevators[20]

The Canadian country elevator system became firmly established after the completion of the CPR mainline in 1885. Because it recognized the advantage to be derived from the rapid loading and turnaround of its rolling stock, the CPR provided free elevator sites to any individual or company that built a standard elevator. The standard elevator was to have a capacity of at least 25,000 bushels as well as steam or gasoline powered equipment for elevating and cleaning grain. One man could load a boxcar from a standard elevator in about one hour, whereas it took all day to load a boxcar from a flat (grain) warehouse. Limited rolling stock and the rush to get grain to market in the autumn made the standard elevator very attractive to the railroad companies. Consequently, in addition to the free elevator site, they guaranteed a monopoly of the grain trade to the elevator owners. Farmers were forbidden to load cars from loading platforms or from the old flat grain warehouses. Anyone shipping grain by rail had to use the grain elevators thereby guaranteeing those who invested in grain elevators a return.

After 1900 the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway and the Canadian Northern Railway Company aggressively sought investment for elevator construction along their lines. Like the CPR they used free elevator sites to entice grain elevator companies to their sidings and they obliged farmers to load their grain from elevators.

The Ogilvie Flour Mills Company of Montreal and the Lake of the Woods Milling Company, which included George Stephen and Sir William Van Horne of the CPR among its original shareholders, were the first companies to construct elevators on a large scale during the 1880s. Besides these two flour milling companies, many individuals also built grain elevators during the 1880s. By 1890, when there were 90 standard elevators and a few score warehouses in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, they were all owned by 107 different individuals including the two companies.

Apart from the two mills, the first company to respond to the CPR's offer was the Northern Elevator Company founded in 1893. By the end of 1901 the Northern Elevator Company had 92 country elevators on the

Prairies. Other companies formed during the 1890s included the Farmers' Elevator Company (1896), the Dominion Elevator Company (1898), the Manitoba Elevator Company (1898) and Bready, Love and Tryon's Winnipeg Elevator Company (1899). Shortly after the turn of the century the grain merchandising firm of James Richardson and Sons entered the line elevator field. The Pioneer Grain Company of Winnipeg operated as the country elevator arm of this firm. Another grain merchant, Nicholas Bawlf of Winnipeg, also built up one of the largest elevator companies -- the Bawlf Grain Company -- during the first decade of the century. By 1900 there were 447 elevators on the Prairies, all but 120 of them owned by six companies. A decade later there were 52 companies operating 2001 elevators and by the 1920s 67 companies operated 3789 elevators.[21]

The North West Elevator Association formed in 1899 by the line elevator companies, and the Winnipeg Grain Exchange established by leading grain merchants attempted to regulate the new industry. The Elevator Association set the rates for the handling and storage of grain, formulated regulations for the conduct of its members, and provided for the proper posting of grain prices.

The monopoly in grain handling extended to the line elevator companies provoked bitter grievances among farmers.

> The farmer complained . . . of the grade he received, the scaled weight of his wagon load of grain, the dockage (foreign material in the grain) assessed, the charges levied by the elevator company and the price he received for his grain. What was especially problematic and the source of much complaint was the lack of competition in setting [the price of] what was clled the "street wheat" or any amount of wheat less than one box car load or approximately 1000 bushels. Selling grain in small lots left the producer at the mercy of the grain company as he could not consign anything less than one car lot to the commission merchants in Winnipeg.[22]

Between 1899 and 1914, 13 commissions were appointed by the federal government and various provincial governments to investigate the causes of farmer grievances. A federally appointed Royal Commission found the farmers' complaints to be legitimate in 1899-1900. As a result a number of federal and provincial acts were passed. The elevator companies lost their monopoly and farmers gained much greater access to the facilities provided for the shipment and transportation of grain. Dockage disputes were resolved by the appointment of federal grain sample inspectors. Finally, a system for regulating country and terminal elevators, supervised by a federally appointed Warehouse Commissioner, was established.

Ultimately, however, farmers could not solve their grain handling problems until they gained some control over the shipment of grain through elevator ownership. Individual "farmers' elevators" were only a partial solution. Because elevators were expensive they could only be constructed in prosperous agricultural communities. The powerful line elevator companies could retaliate by cutting rates at such shipping points, driving the "farmers' elevators" out of business. Consequently farmers' organizations were formed in Manitoba (Manitoba Grain Growers' Association) and the North West Territories (Territorial Grain Growers' Association) between 1901 and 1903 to solve the problem of grain handling and storage and to obtain effective legislation regulating the grain trade. When the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were formed in 1905 the Territorial Grain Growers' Association became the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association and the Alberta Farmer's Association. In 1909 the latter amalgamated with the Alberta branch of the American Society of Equity to form the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA).[23]

Almost immediately the farmers' organizations tackled the problem of grain handling. In 1906 the Grain Growers' Grain Company was organized by the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association to carry on a commission business in grain. The Company obtained a Dominion Charter in 1911. During the same year the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association formed the Saskatchewan Cooperative Elevator Company with power to build and operate grain elevators and to buy and sell grain. In 1913 the UFA established the Alberta Farmers' Cooperative Elevator Company Limited. Under the act of incorporation passed by the Alberta legislature "the government was empowered to advance up to 85 per cent of the cost of building or buying elevators" to the Company.[24] In 1917 the Alberta

Farmers' Cooperative Elevator Company Limited amalgamated with the Grain Growers' Grain Company and formed the United Grain Growers' Company Limited (UGG) with headquarters in Winnipeg.

After WW1 a new development in the cooperative marketing of grain won the support of farmers. Between 1917 and 1919 the federal government had controlled the wheat market through the Board of Grain Supervisors and the Wheat Board. Both Boards had been appointed to buy the Canadian wheat crop at a price fixed annually and to act as a selling agent for the whole crop. Farmers were satisfied with the Board because it bypassed their old enemy the Winnipeg Grain Exchange. Within two years of the Board's dissolution in 1920 the price of Alberta wheat had dropped by $1.54 per bushel to $0.77. Although it would have been impossible to maintain wheat prices at their war-time level the farmers nevertheless decided to become grain buyers and set up their own marketing system -- the Alberta Wheat Pool. During the summer of 1923 UFA canvassers signed up over 26,000 farmers who represented 45 per cent of the provincial wheat crop. Farmers who joined the Wheat Pool agreed to deliver all of their marketable wheat for a period of five years to the Pool. A fraction of the profits from the sale of the wheat were deducted in order to build up a reserve fund and to acquire grain elevators. Wherever possible the Pool elevators refrained from competition with the farmer owned elevators.[25]

By 1923-24 the UGG operated 373 elevators in Manitoba and Alberta while the Saskatchewan Cooperative Elevator Company operated 385 country elevators. However it was only in the late 1950s and early 1960s that farmer owned elevators surpassed the number of elevators owned by the line elevator companies. By 1928 the Alberta Wheat Pool had "signed up" about 50 per cent of the wheat acreage in the province. Farmer owned elevators constituted about 33 per cent of the 5343 country elevators in Western Canada.[26]

As Table 21 illustrates, by 1923 all of the sidings along the 1905 CNoR line and the 1917-20 CNoR/CNR line (except Spedden) had been provided with grain elevators.

Table 21. Total Capacity (in Bushels) of Grain Elevators in Towns along the CNoR and CNoR/CNR lines (1923)[23]

1905 CNoR line	
Fort Saskatchewan	230,000
Bruderheim	185,000
Lamont	215,000
Chipman	199,000
Hilliard	60,000
Mundare	351,000
Raith/Royal Park	95,000
Vegreville	520,000
Lavoy	125,000
Ranfurly	105,000
Innisfree	90,000
Minburn	92,000
Mannville	165,000
Claysmore	30,000
Vermilion	110,000

1917-20 CNoR/CNR line	
Redwater	55,000
Radway Centre	65,000
Waskatenau	65,000
Warspite	30,000
Smoky Lake	65,000
Edwand	30,000
Bellis	65,000
Vilna	65,000
Spedden	-----
Ashmont	30,000
St. Paul de Metis	112,000

Between 1905 and 1930 at least 25 individuals and companies, excluding the UGG and the Alberta Wheat Pool, operated elevators in the railroad towns of east central Alberta.[28] Most of the individually operated elevators had been absorbed by the line elevator companies prior to 1930 and many of the smaller companies had themselves been absorbed by larger companies. The latter were usually owned by a handful of wealthy entrepreneurs who lived as far away as Winnipeg, Minneapolis or even London, England.

Frank Peavey and Augustus Searle, two Minneapolis-based American grain elevator operators, owned elevators in 25 of the towns on the CNoR and CNoR/CNR line in east central Alberta, at one time or another, between 1910 and 1930. By 1895 the Peavey family, descended from a wealthy Maine vessel owner, lumber dealer and sawmill operator, owned 400 country elevators in the United States, including a terminal elevator at Duluth. The vice-president of the Peavey-owned Globe Elevator Company of Minneapolis, Augustus Searle was the son of a New York grain miller. During the first three decades of the twentieth century he remained closely associated with many Peavey enterprises while establishing his own elevator empire with headquarters in Winnipeg.

Representatives of the Peavey family had been approached by Mackenzie and Mann of the CNoR around 1905, given the red carpet treatment, and encouraged to establish elevators along CNoR lines in Western Canada. In 1906 a tour of CNoR lines by Peavey representatives led to the formation of the British American Elevator Company. Formed to operate as a grain buyer along the CNoR lines, the company established elevators at Mundare, Vegreville, Innisfree, Mannville, Vermilion and Bellis. Two other Peavey owned elevator companies -- the National Elevator Company and the Northern Elevator Company -- operated elevators at Chipman, Vegreville and Willingdon, and at Radway and Waskatenau respectively. By 1929 the British American Elevator Company had 132 elevators in Western Canada, the National Elevator Company had 120 elevators, and the Northern Elevator Company had 171 elevators.[29]

Although the Searle Grain Company Limited was formed only in 1921, a number of family related elevator and grain companies had been in existence since 1911. They included the Saskatchewan Elevator Company Limited (established 1911-12) which had elevators in Hilliard, Royal Park and Vegreville; the Home Grain Company Limited (established 1916-17) with elevators in Mundare, Warspite, Smoky Lake, Edwand, Bellis, Vilna and St. Paul de Metis; and the Liberty Grain Company Limited (established 1920-21) with elevators in Mundare, Lavoy, Innisfree and Minburn. The Searle Grain Company Limited had an elevator at Smoky Lake. In 1929 all 4 companies, representing 284 elevators, were amalgamated under the name of the Searle Grain Company Limited with headquarters in Winnipeg. Almost simultaneously Searle acquired the Peavey's British American Elevator Company and its 121 elevators. By 1930 the Searle Grain Company controlled 302 grain elevators in Western Canada.[30]

Next to the companies owned by the Peavey and Searle families the most prominent elevator company in east central Alberta was the Alberta Pacific Grain Company. By 1929 this Company, which owned 353 elevators in Western Canada, had established elevators in 15 towns along the CNoR and CNoR/CNR lines: Fort Saskatchewan, Bruderheim, Lamont, Hilliard, Mundare, Royal Park, Vegreville, Lavoy, Minburn, Mannville, Vermilion, Waskatenau, Smoky Lake, Vilna and St. Paul de Metis. The Company was formed in 1912 by amalgamating 94 individually owned elevators. The amalgamation was masterminded by W. Max Aitken (1879-1964), the Ontario-born, British-resident financier who was made Lord Beaverbrook in 1917 and ultimately became the kingpin of London's Fleet Street. Aitken's partners included the Winnipeg grain merchant Nicholas Bawlf, owner of the Bawlf Grain Company which had elevators in Lamont, Mundare and Royal Park; and, R.B. Bennett (1870-1947), a legal partner in Senator James Lougheed's law firm and Conservative MP for Calgary East who would become Prime Minister of Canada in 1930. In 1918 Bennett earned $33,750 from his holdings in the Company. When the Alberta Pacific Grain Company was sold to Spiller's Limited of Great Britain in 1923, Bennett gained $1,350,000.[31]

A number of elevator companies which were amalgamated in 1929 to form the Federal Grain Company Limited, managed by H.E. Sellers of Winnipeg, also operated elevators in east central Alberta. The original Federal Grain Company operated an elevator in Lavoy; the Brooks Elevator Company operated elevators in Lamont, Radway Centre, Warspite and Ashmont; the Topper Grain Company ran an elevator in Smoky Lake; and the North West Elevator Company had elevators in Vegreville and St. Paul de Metis. The new Federal Grain Company formed in 1929 had 355 elevators in Western Canada and was the largest privately owned line elevator company in Canada.[32]

Two locally owned and operated grain elevator companies also deserve mention. The D.R. Davis Grain Company was established in Vegreville. It operated elevators in east central Alberta until at least 1930. Besides Vegreville, D.R. Davis elevators were located in Lamont, Mundare, Waskatenau and Willingdon. More important was the Gillespie Grain Company Limited of Edmonton. It was established by John Gillespie, who was born in Scotland in 1870 and who received his start in the grain business in Minneapolis before coming to Edmonton in 1906.[33] The Gillespie Grain Company operated elevators in Bruderheim, Chipman, Hilliard, Royal Park, Vegreville, Redwater, Bellis and Spedden. The Company operated independently until 1942 when it joined the UGG.

Farmer owned and operated elevators began to appear in east central Alberta during the 1920s, although prior to 1930 they seem to have been located almost exclusively in the larger and older towns along the 1905 CNoR line. Prior to 1930 UGG elevators had been established in Fort Saskatchewan, Lamont, Chipman, Vegreville, Lavoy, Ranfurly, Innisfree, Minburn, Mannville, Vermilion, Waskatenau and Willingdon. Alberta Wheat Pool elevators existed in Fort Saskatchewan, Mundare, Royal Park, Vegreville, Lavoy, Mannville and Willingdon.

B. Lumber Yards

In most railroad towns of east central Alberta a railway station, a general store and a grain elevator were the first establishments to be erected on the townsite. Shortly thereafter a lumber yard, a livery barn and an implement dealership were established. Once these essential services -- especially the lumber yard -- were available, public schools, churches, hotels, blacksmith shops, and a host of other trade and recreational buildings could be constructed.

Three Lumber companies -- two of them locally owned and operated -- dominated the retail lumber business in the railroad towns of east central Alberta. The Hayward Lumber Company had branches in more railroad towns -- 16 -- than any other company. It was especially well represented on the two older lines -- the CNoR and CNoR/CNR. The Company traced its origins to 1905 when George Eldon Hayward (1882-1956), a native of Fredericton, New Brunswick, and Fred C. Long, a pharmacist, began selling lumber from a tent in Vermilion. Previously the two had peddled patent medicine and work clothes between Edmonton and Vermilion. By 1911 Hayward had become the sole proprietor of the Company. During the decade that followed the head office was removed from Vermilion to Edmonton, a lumber manufacturing plant was purchased and modernized, and operations were greatly expanded.[34] The plant was "equipped for making all class of mill work, store fixtures and office equipment, including special house and office cabinets. In addition, building supplies [were] also handled and every requisite for a building could be obtained from the Hayward Company, from the interior finish to the paint for the exterior."[35]

By 1915 the Company had 28 branches, almost all of them in central Alberta. During the 1920s an extensive wholesale business was built up. Orders were shipped as far west as the Pacific coast of British Columbia and as far east as the Saskatchewan border. The Company's trade extended as far south as Calgary and as far north as settlement had reached. By 1929 branches of the Hayward Lumber Company had been established in the following railroad towns within the bloc settlement area: Chipman, Vegreville, Lavoy, Innisfree, Minburn, Mannville, Claysmore, Vermilion, Radway Centre, Redwater, Warspite, Bellis, Vilna, Ashmont, St. Paul de Metis, and Beauvalon.

A considerably smaller enterprise which had also originated in east central Alberta, was the Charles Gordon Lumber Company. It was established by Charles Gordon of Vegreville in 1907. Mr. Gordon, who was mayor of Vegreville from 1919 until 1923, continued to run the Company until the 1930s when he sold out to the Imperial Lumber Company of Edmonton.[36] Between 1907 and 1929 the Charles Gordon Lumber Company established lumber yards in Chipman, Mundare, Ranfurly, Willingdon and Two Hills.

The third major lumber company in east central Alberta -- the Alberta Lumber Company -- as well as the Globe Lumber Company were both part of the Revelstoke Sawmill Company conglomerate owned by Samuel H. Bowman of Calgary. In 1928 the conglomerate organized the Builders' Hardware Store chain. Prior to 1930 Alberta Lumber Company branches had been established in Bruderheim, Lamont, Hilliard, Mundare, Vegreville, Andrew, Willingdon, Hairy Hill, Kaleland and Two Hills. Globe Lumber Company lumber yards had existed briefly in Bruderheim, Lamont, Mundare and Vegreville. Builders' Hardware Stores had been established in Andrew, Willingdon, Hairy Hill and Two Hills.[37]

Two other chain companies -- the Winnipeg based Beaver Lumber Company (Fort Saskatchewan, Waskatenau, Smoky Lake, Spedden) and the Edmonton based Imperial Lumber Company (St. Michael, Andrew, Willingdon, Hairy Hill) -- were also establishing lumber yards in the bloc settlement by the late 1920s.

C. Creameries and Cheese Factories[38]

The first cheese factory in Alberta had been established at Springbank in 1888; three years later a creamery had been established at Big Hill Spring. Both were located near Calgary. The first creameries in central Alberta were established between 1892 and 1895. Since none of these enterprises was financially stable, the federal government granted $15,000 in 1896 to subsidize the establishment and maintenance of creameries in the North West Territories. As a result five farmer-owned, government-managed creameries were established in Calgary, Innisfail, Red Deer, Wetaskiwin and Edmonton. When government involvement ended in 1905 many of these creameries, including the Edmonton District Butter and Cheese Manufacturing Association folded. In addition a handful of local farmer association-owned creameries and small privately owned creameries operated prior to 1914. All of these, however, faced severe competition from the centralized privately owned Edmonton and Calgary based creameries which began to do business shortly after 1905. The latter could pay more for the farmers' cream, they could build up volume and reduce the costs of manufacturing butter and cheese, and the railroads provided them with access to markets all across Alberta and British Columbia.

Between 1910 and 1923 the largest dairy in Alberta was the Edmonton City Dairy Limited. The company had been founded in 1906 by Warren W. Prevey (1874-1948) a native of Elroy, Wisconsin, who received his initiation into the dairy business in the United States and purchased the buildings of the defunct Edmonton District Butter and Cheese Manufacturing Association in 1906. The dairy was run as a joint stock company owned by a very small number of shareholders. By 1914 the Dairy produced over 2,000,000 lbs. of butter or almost 40 per cent of all Alberta creamery butter. It also produced milk, cheese and ice cream, and handled the sale and distribution of eggs and poultry.

In order to obtain cream from the farmers the ECD established cream buying stations in railroad towns throughout central Alberta. At these stations company agents weighed the cream, tested it for butterfat content, graded it and paid the farmers in cash. The cream was then shipped by train to the central plant in Edmonton where it was processed. ECD agents provided their suppliers with cream cans and paid all express charges. By 1912 cream buying stations were located in Wetaskiwin, Leduc, Tofield, Morinville, Camrose, Strome, Holden, and in one town in east central Alberta -- Mannville. Agents were purchasing cream from more than 4,000 farmers within a 200 mile radius of Edmonton.

The increased demand for agricultural products created by WW1, as well as the emergence of larger urban centres, allowed the ECD and a few other large dairies to expand their operations between 1915 and 1923. By 1922 the ECD had constructed 11 branch creameries (in which local farmers were encouraged to purchase shares) in central and northern Alberta and established 95 cream buying stations. Prior to 1922 none of the 11 creameries were located within the bloc settlement although cream buying stations had been established in Chipman, Mundare, Vegreville, Ranfurly, Innisfree, Mannville, Vermilion, Waskatenau and Ashmont. The ECD was able to expand rapidly because it was in the heart of Alberta's dairy country. Mixed and dairy farming was most strongly developed in census divisions #8 and #10 to the east and southeast of Edmonton. Census division #10 included the portion of the Ukrainian bloc settlement south of the North Saskatchewan River.

In 1923 the expansion of the Alberta dairy industry came to a halt as farmers turned increasingly to wheat and cattle farming and dairy output fell. Demand for Alberta butter had also fallen because production standards had deteriorated during the preceding 8 years of rapid expansion. As a result, in 1922-23, in an effort to improve the quality of Alberta butter and to prevent the wasteful duplication of services provided by agents of competing dairy companies, the cream buying stations were abolished. They were replaced by a government cream grading service set up in all towns where the stations had operated.

It was in the aftermath of these developments that the ECD sold its butter and cheese business to P. Burns and Company in 1924. Four years later the ECD sold its milk and ice-cream facilities to the Dairy Corporation of Canada. W.W. Prevey became Manager and President of the Corporation.

P. Burns and Company, and Swift's Canadian Company had entered the dairy business during the war years. While the latter expanded slowly -- it established only one creamery, in Edmonton, and a number of cream buying stations prior to 1922 (including Vegreville, Chipman, Mundare, Ranfurly, Innisfree, Minburn, Mannville, Vermilion and Waskatenau in east central Alberta) -- P. Burns and Company expanded by leaps and bounds. Even before buying out the ECD the Company owned 14 creameries and cheese factories.

P. Burns and Company had been founded in the 1890s by Patrick Burns (1857-1937) a native of Kirkfield, Ontario, who tried his hand at farming in Manitoba before coming to Calgary. There he became the largest and most successful rancher and beef merchant and that city's first genuine millionaire. By 1905 Burns had made Calgary the headquarters of the Western Canadian beef-packing industry. By the 1920s the Company had offices in London, Liverpool, Paris and Yokahama.

Prior to 1922 Burns' cream buying stations had existed in Lamont, Innisfree, Minburn and Waskatenau. After buying out the ECD, P. Burns and Company creameries were established in Vegreville, Mannville, Vermilion, Radway Centre and St. Paul de Metis. A cheese factory was established at Bruderheim. During the 1920s P. Burns and Company was the largest single producer of creamery butter in Alberta, accounting for 27 to 37 per cent of the total output. In 1929, shortly before his appointment to the Canadian Senate, Patrick Burns sold his interests to Dominion Securities who formed Palm Dairies to handle the Burns dairy enterprises.

4. Ukrainian Businessmen and Professionals

In Galicia and Bukovyna commercial activity had been monopolized by non-Ukrainians -- primarily by Jews, but also by Germans, Poles and Rumanians. In many villages Jewish peddlers provided the peasants with the manufactured goods and commodities they required in exchange for their grain and farm produce.[39] Only a small minority of wealthy Ukrainian peasants had participated in trade and commerce. In Canada, no less than in Galicia and Bukovyna, there were obstacles to Ukrainian business activity. Here the Ukrainian settler not only lacked the experience and the capital resources with which to set up a business, he was also ignorant of the English language. Moreover, old habits were hard to break. According to Vasyl (William) Czumer,

> Out of habit, the Ukrainian woman who shopped in Jewish stores in the Old Country continued the same practice in Canada. Because the idea had never appealed to them before, the settlers felt no need to run their own stores. Both in the Old Country and in Canada, they left that role to foreigners. They also feared bankruptcy. They did not believe the Ukrainian woman would shop at a store run by a Ukrainian rather than, for example, a Jew.[40]

One of the most successful early Jewish businesses was the firm of Chmelnitsky and Chmelnitsky which operated a general and hardware store in Mundare and a few other towns along the 1905 CNoR line. The Chmelnitskys not only spoke Ukrainian, they also bore a surname which drew Ukrainian customers like a magnet.[41] Above all, however, their success rested on sound business practices. The Chmelnitskys had acquaintances among the Jewish wholesalers in Montreal and as a result could offer a wide selection of merchandise to their customers. Ukrainian storekeepers could not compete with their stock. Moreover, the Chmelnitskys had a thriving business and a strong line of credit. Consequently they could extend credit to their Ukrainian customers. Few

Ukrainian merchants could afford to do likewise.

As a result, prior to 1914, only a handful of Ukrainian immigrants who possessed some capital and spoke some English, set up small businesses. The first successful Ukrainian businessman in Alberta was Paul Rudyk, a native of Lishnyv, Brody, Galicia. After acting as an interpreter for Ukrainians in Edmonton stores, Rudyk set up his own store on Kinistino [96th] Street and became involved in the real estate business. By 1911 he was believed to be the richest Ukrainian in Canada. He managed the International Hotel in Edmonton and owned the four-storey Rudyk Block on Jasper Avenue. In the railroad towns of east central Alberta Ukrainian business activity was on a more modest scale. Prior to 1914 a few general stores, livery stables, blacksmith shops, billiard halls and barber shops, meat markets and implement dealerships had been established by Ukrainians in Lamont, Chipman, Mundare and Vegreville.

There were two business ventures which deserve special mention. In December 1909 a group of Ukrainians from Vegreville and Edmonton, led by Peter Svarich and Paul Rudyk, decided to organize the National Cooperative Company Limited (Ruska Narodna Torhivlia), a joint stock company that initially offered 1000 shares at $20 a share. Between April 1910 and October 1913 the company established stores in Vegreville, Edmonton, Chipman and Lamont.[42] The Edmonton store had to be sold within a few months because the local Basilian missionary, Rev. M. Hura, forbade Greek Catholic immigrants to purchase shares in the Company because its organizers - Svarich, Rudyk and some of their associates -- were members of the Independent Greek Church. The Lamont store had to be removed to Innisfree because the Lamont Russophiles refused to support a business organized by Ukrainian "separatists". A second Vegreville store specializing in furniture was closed after one year since there was little demand for manufactured furniture among Ukrainian settlers.

During the first few years the Company was able to operate on capital advanced by Paul Rudyk. By 1916, however, $50,000 worth of shares had been sold. The Company expanded by buying out merchandise from stores facing bankruptcy and then establishing branches of its own.

At first premises were rented. Only when a branch was well established did the Company buy or erect its own store. The Company was run and managed from Vegreville, where its largest store was located. The manager of the Vegreville branch supervised all the branches and ordered all merchandise in bulk after consulting with the other branch managers. The merchandise was then shipped to the branches as well as to a number of the Ukrainian owned country stores in the environs of Vegreville. By 1916 the National Cooperative Company Limited had 15 full-time employees in Vegreville, Innisfree, Chipman and Lamont. They included the general manager, three branch managers, a bookkeeper and 10 clerks. About 40 clerks had been employed by the Company between 1910 and 1916 and many of these had gone into business for themselves after serving an apprenticeship with the Company.

The Company continued to prosper until 1921 when it went bankrupt as a result of an overly ambitious plan to expand its operations. In 1916 the Company had printed catalogues and established a mail order service in an attempt to reach Ukrainian settlers all across the Prairies. A few years later a wholesale warehouse was set up in Edmonton. In 1919 three new branches were established in Radway Centre, Andrew and Smoky Lake and the directors of the Company waited impatiently for the CNoR/CNR line to be completed so that they might establish more branches. Unfortunately, it was at this point, when the Company had stretched its resources to the limit, that the price of wheat and farm products in general began to fall. Farmers stopped making purchases and, unable to pay its creditors, the Company expired.

A similar if less ambitious venture was organized by Ukrainian Russophiles in Lamont. In 1913 the Russian Mercantile Company was organized in the town which was adjacent to a large concentration of Russophile/Russian Orthodox Ukrainians from Galicia. The Company had one branch store in Chipman. By 1918 the Company employed nine persons and owned stock valued at $125,000. Like the National Cooperative Company it operated all-purpose general stores which stocked everything from coffee and tea to farm clothes, fancy dresses, iron goods and farm machinery. Potatoes, cabbages, live chickens and grain were bought and taken in exchange for goods. Unlike the National Cooperative Company, the Russian Mercantile Company seems to have survived until at least 1928.[43]

Ukrainians began to establish businesses in the railroad towns of east central Alberta in appreciable numbers during and after WW1. The high price of farm goods provided some settlers with the capital required to set up a business and created a greater demand for store bought goods. The new sense of Ukrainian national consciousness generated by the war and revolution overseas also made of the slogan "svii do svoho" (patronize your own) a more potent weapon in the arsenal of the prospective Ukrainian merchant or businessman. Finally, Ukrainians began to settle in railroad towns in greater numbers during the 1920s (see Table 22). This provided local Ukrainian merchants with a larger and more dependable clientele on a day to day basis.

As a result, by 1930 Ukrainians owned a majority or at least a substantial fraction of the businesses in a number of railroad towns. Along the 1905 CNoR line Ukrainian businessmen were concentrated in the cluster of railroad towns between Lamont and Vegreville. In 1930 Ukrainians owned or operated about 33 per cent of the businesses in Lamont, Chipman and Vegreville. They owned/operated about 50 per cent of those in Hilliard, 66 per cent of those in Mundare, and the only business -- a general store -- in Royal Park. Although six of the 16 businesses in Innisfree were run by Ukrainians, in the other towns along this line Ukrainians owned an infinitesimal fraction of the businesses. Ukrainian merchants figured more prominently in the smaller towns along the 1917-20 CNoR/CNR line. In Redwater, Radway, Smoky Lake, Edwand, Bellis, Vilna and Spedden 60 to 90 per cent of the businesses were Ukrainian owned or operated. In Smoky Lake Ukrainians owned/operated no fewer than 25 of 32 businesses. On the other hand in Waskatenau, Warspite, Ashmont and St. Paul de Metis Ukrainian merchants constituted less than 20 per cent of the business community. Along the 1927 CPR line Ukranians owned or operated over 50 per cent, and frequently over 75 per cent of the businesses in all the towns except Beauvalon. Although a number of

Table 22. Population in Railroad Towns (of over 100 inhabitants according to Ethnic Origins, 1931[43a]

Town	Total	Ukrainian	British	French	Austrian	Rumanian	Polish	Russian	German	Jewish	Scandinavian
Fort Saskatchewan	1001	28	647	114	45	--	21	14	55	1	23
Bruderheim	280	9	39	--	1	--	95	53	43	27	8
Lamont	507	43	239	1	26	9	19	31	82	12	13
Chipman	284	114	104	2	--	--	7	--	36	7	11
Mundare	832	595	52	3	--	13	83	28	22	19	3
Vegreville	1659	544	643	104	10	37	43	3	86	82	55
Lavoy	151	23	91	1	1	--	3	--	9	14	4
Ranfurly	122	39	69	6	--	--	2	--	1	4	1
Innisfree	227	67	109	4	10	--	1	--	6	7	15
Minburn	119	6	102	--	--	--	--	--	3	--	5
Mannville	307	2	237	12	9	2	16	--	7	4	12
Vermilion	1270	1	991	45	53	1	39	--	53	10	31
Smoky Lake	366	291	37	4	--	12	8	--	6	--	1
Bellis	117	79	7	2	--	--	3	2	14	3	--
Vilna	151	54	63	3	--	13	2	--	2	1	7
St. Paul de Metis	938	15	145	673	8	5	18	1	18	13	11
Andrew	115	89	13	--	--	1	1	1	4	5	--
Willingdon	250	165	36	5	--	15	8	9	4	--	3
Two Hills	149	84	28	6	1	--	11	--	2	--	--
Myrnam	131	82	21	6	--	--	2	--	1	13	1
Derwent	107	54	27	1	--	--	4	--	1	--	18

these towns had fewer than 10 businesses, Ukrainians also dominated business in the larger centres like Andrew, Willingdon, Two Hills, Myrnam and Derwent.

Although Ukrainian merchants owned a high percentage of the businesses in towns like Mundare, Smoky Lake and Myrnam, it is important to remember that in these towns, no less than in the other towns where they constituted a tiny fraction of the merchants, Ukrainians were concentrated in a number of relatively unprestigious and unprofitable enterprises. Certain occupations -- those requiring fluency in English, a certain level of education or expertise, a substantial amount of capital, or business connections -- were almost always filled by individuals of British origin. Thus, almost all bank, grain elevator, lumber yard and creamery managers or agents were of British origin. So were most professionals -- lawyers, medical doctors, dentists, pharmacists, veterinarians, newspaper editors, and high school principals. Many of the auto and implement dealers, insurance salesmen, and hotel owners, especially in the bigger towns, were also of British origin. The individuals engaged in the "luxury" trades -- tailors, milliners, men's clothiers, bakers, florists and jewellers -- were also usually of non-Ukrainian origin. Finally, restaurant and cafe owners were overwhelmingly of Chinese origin. Although Occidentals, including a few Ukrainians, owned restaurants in some of the towns, nearly every town had at least one Chinese owned restaurant or cafe. Prior to 1930, 11 of 15 towns on the CNoR line, six of 11 towns on the CNoR/CNR line, and three of 16 towns on the CPR line had a Chinese restaurant. The towns without a Chinese restaurant were usually those towns (about 14) which were too small to support a restaurant of any kind.

Ukrainians operated businesses which did not require a great deal of capital or formal education to run. Besides general stores, Ukrainians operated livery stables, blacksmith shops, shoe repair shops, harness repair shops, meat markets, grocery stores, confectionary stores, hardware stores, feed mills, second hand stores, implement dealerships, garages and service stations, and billiard halls/tobacco shops. Indeed, Ukrainians seemed to have an informal monopoly on the operation and ownership of billiard halls in east central Alberta. Prior to 1930 Ukrainians owned and operated billiard halls, at one time or another, in no fewer than 23 towns. Frequently this was the first and only Ukrainian owned/operated enterprise in a town (Fort Saskatchewan, Bruderheim, Ranfurly, Minburn). Whether this was so because these establishments catered to the largely Ukrainian seasonal labour force and unmarried male population remains to be examined.

A handful of Ukrainian professionals were working in east central Alberta by 1930. The first Ukrainian MDs and lawyers in Alberta had opened offices in Edmonton in 1921 and 1922. By 1930 there were three Ukrainian MDs in east central Alberta: Dr. John Yakimischak at Vegreville, Dr. N. Strilchuk at Mundare, and Dr. N.D. Holubitsky at Radway Centre. The only lawyer -- Nicetas Romaniuk -- practiced law in Smoky Lake. George Skwarok opened a law practice in Mundare shortly after 1930. Isidore Goresky, M.A., of Smoky Lake, was the only Ukrainian high school principal in east central Alberta prior to 1930.

A Ukrainian-language weekly, Postup (Progress) was published in Mundare, for a brief period in 1917, by Toma Tomashevsky. The most successful of Tomashevsky's publishing ventures between 1910 and 1930, Nash postup (Our Progress), was published in Edmonton between 1922 and 1928. A number of other papers published outside Edmonton folded after the appearance of a few issues.

5. The Alberta Provincial Police

From its inception in 1873 the (Royal) North West Mounted Police had been responsible for policing the Prairies. When Alberta attained provincial status in 1905 it was decided to retain the services of the RNWMP on a contract basis to police the new province. When WW1 broke out, the federal government decided that the RNWMP should concentrate on matters of national security under federal jurisdiction. As a result the agreement between the Mounties and the Alberta government was terminated in 1917. In March 1917 the province established its own police force -- the Alberta Provincial Police (APP).[44]

The APP was controlled and managed by a Board of Commissioners appointed by the Lieutenant Governor. This Board appointed a superintendant, an assistant superintendant, inspectors, special constables and constables. The force was composed of five divisions, each headed by an inspector: "A" Division with headquarters in Edmonton; "B" Division with headquarters in Red Deer; "C" Division with headquarters in Calgary; "D" Division with headquarters in Lethbridge; and "E" Division with headquarters in Peace River. Initially there were 48 detachments of the APP in the province. By 1932 their number had increased to more than 100. Most detachments were composed of one or two constables, or a constable and a corporal. "A" Division, which was responsible for policing an area of about 100,000 square miles in northeastern and east central Alberta had jurisdiction over the entire bloc settlement area.

The authority of members of the APP varied with their rank. The Superintendant and his assistant had the powers of Justices of the Peace and coroners; inspectors were ex officio Justices of the Peace and coroners; and all members of the APP had the powers of game guardians, fire guardians, truant officers, weed inspectors, motor vehicle inspectors, theatre inspectors, pool room inspectors and factory inspectors. Constables were responsible for the preservation of the peace, the prevention of crime, the apprehension of criminals and offenders, the execution of warrants, and the conveyance of convicts, prisoners and lunatics to or from courts, places of confinement and/or punishment and asylums. They could also, when armed with the proper warrant, enter and search any place suspected of being in violation of the Liquor Act.[45]

Prospective APP constables had to be able bodied British subjects between 21 and 36 years of age who were able to read and write English. Many were former members of the RNWMP. They were appointed, promoted, suspended and discharged by the Superintendant with the approval of the Board of Commissioners. First class constables earned $140 monthly; corporals earned $145 monthly; detectives earned $155 monthly; and inspectors earned $233 monthly. Only five of the men who served on the APP between 1917 and 1932 bore Slavic surnames.[46] The overwhelming majority -- several hundred -- were of British origin.

By 1920 the APP cost the province almost $500,000 annually to operate -- considerably more than the $75,000 paid the RNWMP prior to 1917. Not unexpectedly, deteriorating economic conditions in the late 1920s and early 1930s obliged the provincial government to reduce expenditures. As a result the APP ceased to exist on 1 April 1932. The RNWMP resumed the task of policing Alberta.

Within the Ukrainian bloc settlement area APP "A" Division detachments were located in Fort Saskatchewan (1917-32), Vegreville (1917-32), Vermilion (1917-32), St. Paul de Metis (1917-32), Andrew (1917-28), Smoky Lake (1920-32), Lamont (1922-32), Willingdon (1928-32; this detachment was formerly stationed at Andrew), and Two Hills (1930-32). All the detachments consisted of no more than one or two constables, or a corporal and a constable. Although special APP barracks were built in larger centres, most of the smaller detachments seem to have been stationed in rented premises where living quarters, office space, a cell, and a court room area in which Magistrates and Justices of the Peace held court, were located.

A fairly high proportion of the criminal charges laid by the APP between 1917 and 1923 when the Alberta Temperance Act was in force, involved violations of the Act. In 1918 for example 845 of 5553 charges in the province and 191 of 1551 charges laid by "A" Division involved violations of prohibition.[47] These figures represented no more than the tip of the bootlegging iceberg since the Inspector of "A" Division readily admitted that one man detachments could not apprehend and convict bootleggers, only their customers. Throughout this period about 12 to 13 percent of the charges laid by "A" Division involved violations of the Liquor Act, about 10 to 15 per cent involved common assault, and another 10 to 15 per cent involved theft. Between 1920 and 1931 "A" Division constables laid 44 murder and 25 manslaughter charges. The courts returned eight murder and 15 manslaughter convictions which represented about 25 per cent of the murder and 60 per cent of the manslaughter convictions obtained by the APP in Alberta during those 11 years.[48]

Studies undertaken during the 1920s suggest that there was a high rate of crime among Ukrainian immigrants in Western Canada prior to 1930. Table 23, based on data compiled in 1931, reveals that a very substantial proportion of the foreign-born male penitentiary population in Canada, in 1921 and 1931, was composed of natives of Austria, Poland, Rumania and Russia, the countries from which Ukrainians emigrated to Canada. The fact that only two prisoners were identified as natives of Ukraine, should not obscure the fact that many if not most of those born in Austria, Poland, Rumania and Russia would have been Ukrainians.

Table 23. Foreign-Born Male Penitentiary Population, 21 years of age and over, by Birthplace, Canada, 1921 and 1931[49]

Birthplace	1921	1931
Asia	23	92
USA	213	222
Eastern Europe		
Austria	83	47
Poland (inc. Galicia)	26	77
Rumania	24	22
Russia	69	78
Ukraine	2	2
Other European	148	154
Other	10	7
Total foreign born	598	685

Data obtained by C.H. Young from the warden of the Fort Saskatchewan Gaol in east central Alberta in 1928 supports these findings. Of 967 male inmates in that institution, 104 were born in Austria, 27 in Poland, three in Rumania and 24 in Russia. Of these, the 92 Greek Catholics and five Greek Orthodox inmates were almost certainly Ukrainians.[50] A few of the 292 Roman Catholics and 170 Presbyterians may have also been Ukrainians. Thus, at least 10 per cent of the provincial Gaol's inmates were Ukrainians at a time when Ukrainians constituted less than 7.6 per cent of the provincial population. Field research by Young also suggested that the rate of crime in Ukrainian districts was disproportionately high.

Although detailed and systematic analysis of criminal case files in the Provincial Archives remains to be undertaken, a preliminary examination of the Annual Reports of the APP suggests that the rate of crime among Ukrainians in east central Alberta was relatively high. Assault, including assault with grievious bodily harm, was one of the charges most frequently brought against Ukrainian settlers. Usually it occurred in the aftermath of weddings, dances and religious celebrations and was related to an excessive consumption of liquour (including homebrew). Almost without exception Ukrainian settlers assaulted other Ukrainian settlers rather than non-Ukrainians. Theft was also fairly common. For the most part it was of a petty nature and perpetrated out of spite. On the other hand there were also a number of instances of theft by conversion, and of theft from the mails by Ukrainian post masters. Theft of wheat was also relatively common. Sometimes it took the form of stealing from a neighbour's granaries and may have been motivated by spite. On the other hand theft of wheat and theft of grain tickets from grain elevators may have been the result of "the extreme hardship attendant on the life of the pioneer."[51] The latter form of theft may have been a form of social protest, a form of "primitive rebellion" against perceived exploitation by the grain elevator companies. It would be interesting to examine this possibility in some detail. Cattle and horse stealing, although rarely reported, also occurred in the bloc settlement, although it too was usually petty in nature.

The frequency of sexual crimes--rape, incest, seduction under promise of marriage--does not seem to have been pronounced in the bloc settlement. This may have been due to the fact, first cited by Young, that "Ukrainians came with a relatively rigid control in this respect, based on public opinion in their communities and on strong familial organization."[52] On the other hand the settlers may have been ashamed and reluctant to report crimes of this sort to the police.[53] There seems to have been some confusion about sexual mores in the New Country. In 1928 a rapist told his victim, a newly arrived married woman living near Fort Saskatchewan, that "this was a free country and it was quite in order for him to do this."[54]

Murder and manslaughter, especially the second, were relatively frequent occurences in the bloc settlement. Between 1920 and 1931 the APP laid 105 murder and 76 manslaughter charges in the entire province and obtained 33 murder and 26 manslaughter convictions. During the period 1919-1931, at least 21 murder and manslaughter cases involving Ukrainians living in east central Alberta and its immediate environs were investigated by "A" Division constables and detectives. In some of these cases murder was the unforeseen result of an assault; on other occasions it was clearly premeditated and carried out with blood chilling ferocity. An examination of Table 24 reveals that the majority of the killings occurred within a domestic setting. Eight of the killings were related to marriage breakdown or lovers' quarrels. In 12 of the cases relatives were victims of the killer. On the other hand murder for reasons of financial gain was rare (two) as was murder or manslaughter related to property disputes (two). At least two of the murders seem to have been the unforeseen result of a drunken assault and two others the desperate acts of unemployed men driven to violence by the prospect of being turned out of their homes by friends or relatives.

As Young pointed out in 1931, the disproportionately high rate of crime among Ukrainian immigrants must not be taken as evidence of any "innate propensity for crime."[76] Rather, it was an index of social disorganization. Ukrainian peasant immigrants had experienced radical changes, constant uprooting and enormous strain "unmitigated by any major relief or assistance" during the period between 1890 and 1930. Efforts to assimilate immigrant children rapidly had undermined parental authority and contributed to the breakdown of traditional values and moral standards. Yet these efforts had failed to instill an appreciation and understanding of Anglo-Canadian standards. They only seem to have stimulated a strong yearning for material goods and a higher standard of living which was still beyond the grasp of most settlers. As a result some young people turned to crime in order to attain what they believed to be a socially desirable lifestyle. The unstable conditions of immigrant life also made it very difficult for many married men to live up to their expected role in the family. This made them sensitive to challenges to their authority and simultaneously prompted some wives to resist male domination by husbands who were not meeting their expectations. Marriage breakdown, frequently culminating in violence, followed. Finally, the fact that among Ukrainians, as among most immigrant groups, there was a surplus of single males between the ages of 15 and 45, also had a direct bearing on the rate of crime. Single men in this age group were especially prone to anti-social behaviour and crime because they experienced all the hardships and deprivations of transient immigrant labourers without enjoying any of the emotional stability provided by a good marriage and permanent membership in a local community.

Table 24. Murder and Manslaughter Cases Investigated by APP "A" Division Involving Ukrainians in east central Alberta, 1919-1931

Date	Place	Description of Crime	Verdict	Sentence
1919	Duvernay[55]	Elderly Ukrainian couple murdered and robbed of $400	Charges against Ukrainian suspect dismissed for lack of evidence	
1919	Radway[56]	Woman kills her son-in-law after he threatens her husband with an axe	Not guilty	Acquitted
1919	Mundare[57]	Nephew kills his uncle in a dispute over the uncle's will	Guilty of manslaughter	Life imprisonment
1921	Chipman[58]	Youth burns down house killing 70 year old man inside	Guilty of murder	Death by hanging
1921	Vegreville[59]	Three men beat a fourth to death after an argument	Guilty of manslaughter	10 years
1922	Smoky Lake[60]	Three intoxicated men kill a fourth man after an argument at a wedding	1 not guilty 2 guilty of manslaughter	Acquitted 10 years each
1923	Smoky Lake[61]	Man beats his half brother to death after catching him stealing food supplies from his wagon on numerous occasions	Guilty of manslaughter	Life imprisonment
1923	St. Paul de Metis[62]	Man kills his brother while trying to pull him out of swamp	Not guilty	Acquitted
1924	Smoky Lake[63]	Woman kills drunk husband by pushing him off a moving wagon during a fight	Charges dismissed	
1924	Redwater[64]	Wife kills husband who repeatedly mistreated her	Guilty of manslaughter	10 years
1927	Athabasca[65]	Woman kills neighbour following an altercation of long standing regarding straying cattle	Guilty of manslaughter	10 years

Table 24. Murder and Manslaughter Cases Investigated by APP "A" Division Involving Ukrainians in east central Alberta, 1919-1931 (continued)

Date	Place	Description of Crime	Verdict	Sentence
1927	Tofield[66]	Unemployed man kills friend after the latter tells him to find new lodgings	Accused committed suicide in jail before trial	
1928	Vegreville[67]	Man kills another man and flees to Volhynia, Poland	No extradition treaty between Canada and Poland; APP send results of their investigation to Poland	
1928	Lafond[68]	Man kills and then decapitates neightbour's wife after revealing that he had fathered 5 of her 9 children	Suspect committed suicide before being apprehended	
1929	Andrew[69]	Man thrown down well by wife and neighbours	Not guilty	All 3 acquitted
1929	Waskatenau[70]	Husband kills young wife because he suspects something is going on between her and the man for whom she worked as a domestic	Suspect committed suicide before being apprehended	
1930	Smoky Lake[71]	Man kills the family (5 persons) of his sister-in-law because he suspects them of concealing the whereabouts of his estranged wife from him	Guilty of murder	Death by hanging
1930	Waugh[72]	Young man kills girl who refused to marry him because her father had advised against the marriage	Suspect committed suicide before being apprehended	
1930	Vilna/[73] Grande Prairie	Son accused of killing father	Not guilty	Acquitted
1931	Smoky Lake[74]	Man kills brother, mother and niece after his brother refuses to board him any longer	?	?
1931	Royal Park[75]	Husband kills wife whom he suspects of being unfaithful to him	Suspect committed suicide before being apprehended	

ENDNOTES

Chapter Five: The Railroad Town and its Services

1. For the purposes of this report, Bilash's definition of a town--"all settlement clusters developed at a railway siding"--is used. Thus Vegreville, with a population of 1659 in 1931, and Claysmore with a handful of inhabitants are both defined as towns. Only 3 of these settlement clusters (Fort Saskatchewan, Vegreville, Vermilion) were legally incorporated towns prior to 1930. Another 18--with a population of at least 100 inhabitants--were classified as (railroad) villages. About 20 were too small to be classified as towns or villages.

2. Radomir Bilash, "The Colonial Development of East Central Alberta and its Effect on Ukrainian Immigrant Settlement to 1930" (Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1983), 21-26.

3. In the "I-town" layout Main Street was perpendicular to Railway Avenue and the railroad; all lanes ran parallel to Main Street. In the "T-town" layout, Main Street was perpendicular to Railway Avenue and the railroad; all lanes were perpendicular to Main Street.

4. In 1910 there were 1304 railroad towns (trade centres) on the Prairies; 69.3 per cent had fewer than 10 business establishments and only 2.4 per cent had 50 or more business establishments. In 1930 there were 2423 railroad towns on the Prairies; 64.8 per cent had fewer than 10 business establishments and only 2.4 per cent had 50 or more. See Carle C. Zimmerman and Garry W. Moneo, The Prairie Community System (Ottawa: Agricultural Economics Research Council of Canada, 1970), 30.

5. "It would appear that the Ukrainian peasant had not outgrown his hereditary attitude to the police and everything associated with them as agents of the ruling nation of which he was an unwilling subject." Charles H. Young, The Ukrainian-Canadians: A Study in Assimilation (Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1931), 277.

6. Bilash, "The Colonial Development", 38; also his "Influencing Factors on Chronological Patterns of Development in the Rural Towns of the Ukrainian Bloc Settlement Area of Alberta, 1913-1931" (Unpublished Report, UCHV, 1978), 6.

7. Compiled from Canada, Bureau of Statistics, Seventh Census of Canada 1931, vol. 2, Table 12, pp. 98-103. Where no population figures are given the railroad town had fewer than 100 inhabitants.

8. The figures based on Dun and Bradstreet's listings are of course only approximations. For example, the Reference Book listed grain elevators only on occasion, and an examination of Henderson's Province of Alberta Directory suggests that some of the smaller enterprises and services may have been left out occasionally.

9. Calculated on the basis of Dun and Bradstreet listings for east central Alberta filed in the UCHV archive, Historic Sites Services, Old St. Stephen's College. (Hereafter Dun and Bradstreet listings).

10. Calculated on the basis of Henderson's Province of Alberta Directory 1928-29, and Canada, Bureau of Statistics, Seventh Census of Canada 1931, vol. 9, Table 1, pp. 44-49.

11. Bilash, "The Colonial Development", 49.

12. Compiled from Bilash, "Influencing Factors", 6, and Seventh Census of Canada 1931, vol. 2, 98-103.

13. Dun and Bradstreet listings, UCHV.

14. Richard Friesen, "Bellis #2: The Structural History of a Country Grain Elevator" (Unpublished Report, UCHV, HSS, Alberta Culture, 1983), 69-71.

15. See note 10.

16. Bilash, "The Colonial Development", 64, 70.

17. Ibid., 67.

18. Compiled from Seventh Census of Canada 1931, vol. 2, 98-103; Dun and Bradstreet listings, UCHV; and Henderson's Province of Alberta Directory 1918-29.

19. Bilash, "The Colonial Development", 33-35.

20. The four pages which follow draw heavily on Richard Friesen, "Bellis #2", 25-62.

21. Ibid., 36.

22. Ibid., 37-38.

23. J.G. MacGregor, A History of Alberta (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1981), 210.

24. Ibid., 211-12.

25. M. Mackintosh, "The Cooperative Movement in Canada" in Canada Year Book 1925 (Ottawa: The King's Printer, 1926), 713.

26. Friesen, "Bellis #2", 40.

27. Canada, Department of the Interior, Elevator Map of Saskatchewan and Alberta, Eighth edition (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1923).

28. By the late 1920s Dun and Bradstreet were no longer listing grain elevator companies that operated in the towns of Western Canada. The last Henderson's Province of Alberta Directory, published for 1928-29, did not yet list elevators in any of the 1927 CPR towns except Willingdon. Consequently I have been unable to identify the companies which owned elevators along this line.

29. D.A. MacGibbon, The Canadian Grain Trade (Toronto: MacMillan, 1932), 306 ff.

30. Friesen, "Bellis #2", 52.

31. Lord Beaverbrook, Friends: Sixty Years of Intimate Personal Relations with Richard Bedford Bennett (London: Heinemann, 1959), 45; E. Watkins, R.B. Bennett: A Biography (Toronto: Kingswood House, 1963), 78.

32. MacGibbon, 321 ff.

33. Who's Who in Canada 1938-39 (Toronto: International Press Ltd., 1939), 1199.

34. John Blue, Alberta, Past and Present (Chicago: Pioneer Historical Publishing Co., 1924), vol. I, 211-13.

35. Ibid., 213.

36. Vegreville in Review (Vegreville: Vegreville and District Historical Society, 1980), Vol. I, 76.

37. Brian Arnott Associates, "Interim Land Use, Structural and Materials History of the Alberta Lumber Company Limited Building" (Unpublished Report, UCHV, HSS, Alberta Culture, 1983), 20-23.

38. This section is based largely on Chester F. Prevey, "The Development of the Dairy Industry of Alberta" (Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Toronto, 1950).

39. Vasyl Havrysh, Moia Kanada i ia (Edmonton: The Author, 1974), 65.

40. William A. Czumer, *Recollections About the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada*, translated by L.T. Laychuk (Edmonton: CIUS, 1981), 89.

41. Havrysh, *Moia Kanada*, 66-70. Bohdan Khmelnytsky was the Hetman or Head of State during the brief period of Ukrainian statehood (1648-57) that followed in the aftermath of the peasant rising of 1648.

42. Peter Svarich, "Istoriia, rozvii i uprava Ruskoi Narodnoi Torhovli v Alberti" *Almanakh Ukrainskoho holosu* (Winnipeg: Ukrainskyi holos, 1916), 135-45.

43. This information is taken from an advertisement in *Kaliendar Russkoho narodu* (Winnipeg: Russkii narod, 1918).

43a. *Seventh Census in Canada 1931*, vol. 2, Table 33, pp. 464-84.

44. For general information on the APP see Jose Villa Arce, "Alberta Provincial Police" *Alberta Historical Review* XXI (4) (Autumn 1973), 16-19, and, Brian Arnott Associates, "Land Use and Structural History of the Alberta Provincial Police Barracks, Andrew, Alberta" (Unpublished Report, UCHV, HSS, Alberta Culture, 1983).

45. Brian Arnott Associates, ". . . APP Barracks . . .", 24-25.

46. APP staff lists may be found in Province of Alberta, Department of the Attorney General, 66.166, Box 86, files #1412 and #1413, Provincial Archives of Alberta. The APP members with Slavic names included 1st class constable W.J. Winnick[Vynnyk]; 3rd class constable V.V. Obrastsoff; 2nd class constable S. Zolotookin; detective H.K. Shandruk; and, detective A. Wilchinski. All began to serve with the APP after 1928.

47. See the typewritten APP Annual Reports filed in 5 Boxes under 72.370 in the Provincial Archives of Alberta.

48. Calculated from "classified summary of cases" appended to the Superintendant's Report, APP Annual Report, PAA, 72.370.

49. Based on Table LXXXIII in, "Racial Origins and Nationality of the Canadian People" *Seventh Census of Canada 1931*, vol. 13, 697.

50. C.H. Young, 263-64.

51. *Ibid*., 275.

52. *Ibid*., 270.

53. In 1921 a 16 year old girl from the Smoky Lake district denied statements she had previously made to APP constables concerning her

father's incestuous practices. As a result charges against the man were dismissed. See "Report of Inspector Commanding "A" Division", APP Annual Report 1921. (Hereafter APP AR "A" Division).

54. APP AR1928, "A" Division, 11.

55. APP AR1919, "A" Division, 14-15.

56. APP AR1919, "A" Division, 15-16.

57. APP AR1919, "A" Division, 17-18.

58. APP AR1921, "A" Division, 6-8.

59. APP AR1921, "A" Division, 8-9.

60. APP AR1922, "A" Division, 4-6.

61. APP AR1923, "A" Division, 7-8.

62. APP AR1923, "A" Division, 4-6.

63. APP AR1924, "A" Division, 8-10.

64. APP AR1924, "A" Division, 7-8.

65. APP AR1927, "A" Division, 2-4.

66. APP AR1927, "A" Division, 4-5.

67. APP AR1928, "A" Division, 3.

68. APP AR1928, "A" Division, 12-13.

69. APP AR1929, "A" Division, 3-5.
APP AR1930, "A" Division, 5.

70. APP AR1929, "A" Division, 5-6.

71. APP AR1930, "A" Division, 3-5.

72. APP AR1930, "A" Division, 8.

73. APP AR1930, "A" Division, 6-7.
APP AR1930, "E2" Division, 4.

74. APP AR1931, "A" Division, 8.

75. APP AR1931, "A" Division, 9.

76. C.H. Young, 272 ff.

Chapter Six: The Political Activity of Ukrainians in East Central Alberta

Chapter Six: The Political Activity of Ukrainians in East Central Alberta

1. Introduction

The Ukrainian peasants who immigrated to east central Alberta between 1891 and 1914 had left the Old Country at a time when efforts to improve the peasants' lot through education, economic cooperation and political reform were beginning to gather momentum. It will come as no surprise then that Ukrainian political activity in east central Alberta focused on issues such as bilingual schooling, proportional representation for Ukrainians and the need for farmers to organize.[1] In Canada, as in the Old Country, education, mutual aid and political representation were perceived as prerequisites to a better way of life.

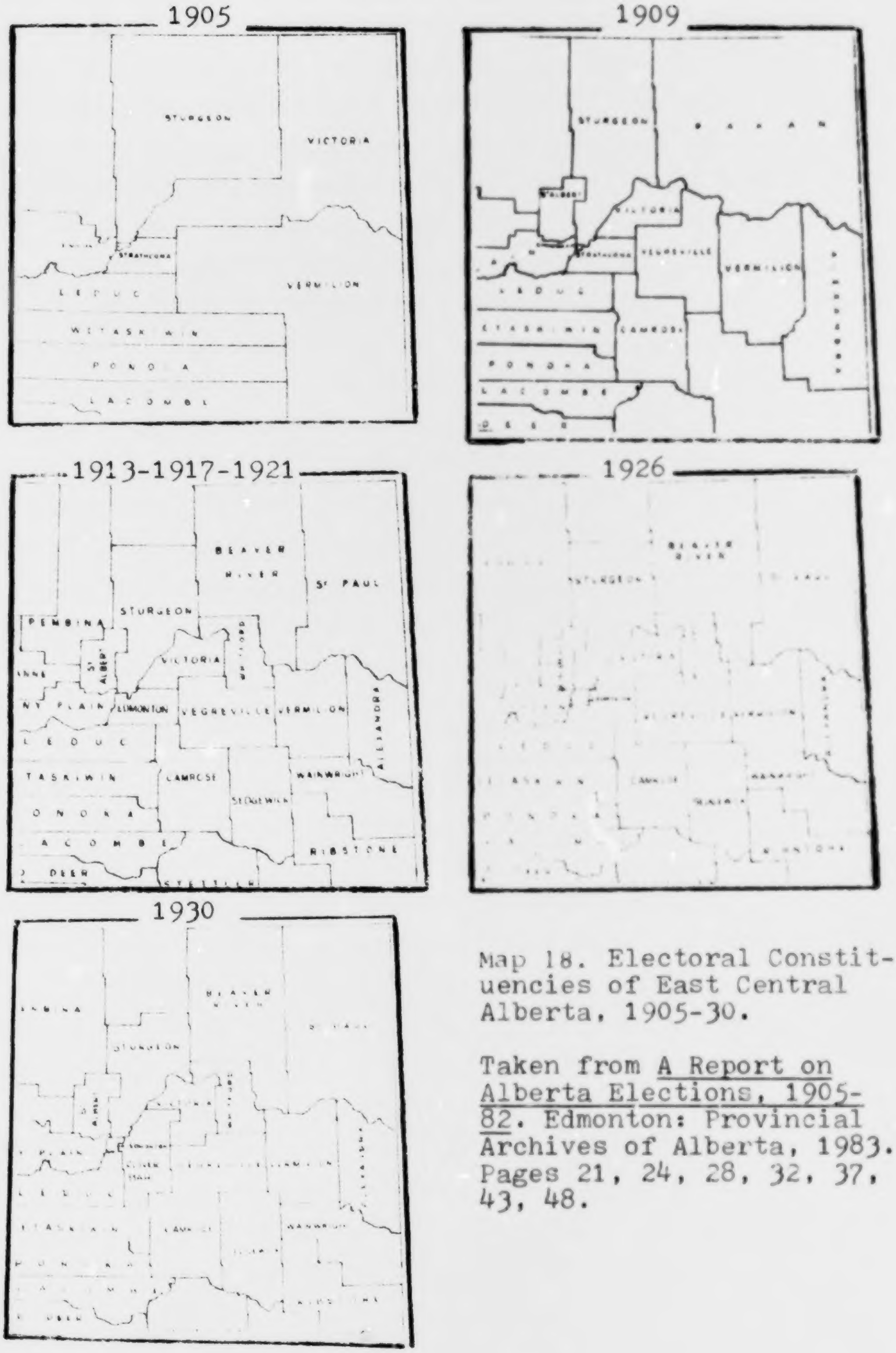
In Galicia and Bukovyna the secular intelligentsia had begun to mobilize the peasantry and to transform it into a political force. In Canada this task fell to young immigrants who had experienced at first hand the cultural and political awakening which was beginning to transform Galicia and Bukovyna. Although generally of peasant background, a few of these young men had origins in the impoverished lower gentry, which, while economically indistinguishable from the peasant masses, had never been enserfed and continued to cherish "traditions of status, learning and leadership."[2] A handful came from districts where the Radicals, Social Democrats and National Democrats were influential. Most were literate, a minority having attended secondary schools, a teachers' seminary, or even university. In Canada they had adapted more readily than their older and/or less educated countrymen and they were in a position to reflect upon the group interests of Ukrainian immigrants.

Their efforts to mobilize Ukrainian peasant immigrants for the pursuit of these group interests met with little success prior to 1921.

Many peasants had emigrated before their villages had begun to experience the cultural and political awakening described in Chapter 1. Few of them appreciated how politics affected them and fewer still understood how political decisions were made. Bitter experience had taught them to expect nothing from governments which were run by the rich and interested only in taxing them or drafting their sons into the army.[3] In Canada efforts to organize Ukrainian immigrants were also complicated by the fact that most immigrants were concerned with little more than physical survival and the development of their homesteads for at least the first ten years.[4] Thereafter, many assumed that an adequate supply of land -- worked diligently -- would solve all their problems. Schools, political representation and farmers' organizations struck them as matters of secondary interest. Finally, the unrelenting struggle for survival which frequently set one peasant against another tended to breed mistrust and cynicism among peasants. Persons, organizations and political groups which claimed to be inspired by zeal for public rather than private ends were suspected of concealing selfish motives no matter how noble and irreproachable their aims.[5]

Attempts to wrench concessions from the provincial government were no more successful prior to 1921. Between 1896 and 1905 and for a few years thereafter, many of the educated and influential young immigrants had been recruited into the Liberal Party which ruled in Ottawa until 1911 and in Alberta until 1921. For their efforts on behalf of the Liberals at election time they had been rewarded with minor government contracts and positions. While some performed this role for personal gain, others acted as Liberal agents hoping to extract concessions, that would benefit all Ukrainians, from a grateful Liberal Party. By 1913 the futility of this approach had been painfully revealed when the Liberals refused to provide bilingual education or proprotional representation for Ukrainians. An effort to elect Independent Ukrainian representatives to the provincial legislature failed. Prior to 1921, the only Ukrainian elected to the Alberta legislature was a Russophile who was indifferent to the issues that agitated Ukrainian community leaders.

By comparison the political achievements of Ukrainians during the 1920s were impressive. Four Ukrainian MLAs and the first Ukrainian MP in Canada--all of them members of the UFA--were elected in east central Alberta between 1921 and 1930. At least two developments contributed to this turn of events. As they turned to commercial agriculture after 1918 Ukrainian farmers began to appreciate at first hand the need for farmers' representatives who would look after their occupational interests in the legislature and in Parliament. Simultaneously the emergence of a third party--the UFA--provided a unique opportunity for Ukrainians to seek nomination and to win election to the legislature and to Parliament. Yet, Ukrainians never became fully integrated into the UFA nor did they manage to develop their own farmers' organizations. They felt uncomfortable in a farmers' organization dominated by English-speaking Protestants and remained incapable of organizing themselves. Consequently, when the Depression made life difficult for farmers during the 1930s Ukrainians proved to be more receptive than their English-speaking counterparts to the Communist Party of Canada.


1905
STURGEON
VICTORIA
STRATHCONA
LEDUC
VERMILION
WETASKIWIN
PONOKA
LACOMBE
1909
STURGEON
VICTORIA
VEGREVILLE
VERMILION
LEDUC
WETASKIWIN
CAMROSE
PONOKA
LACOMBE
1913-1917-1921
BEAVER RIVER
ST. PAUL
PEMBINA
STURGEON
VICTORIA
ST. ALBERT
EDMONTON
VEGREVILLE
VERMILION
ALEXANDRA
LEDUC
WETASKIWIN
CAMROSE
SEDGEWICK
WAINWRIGHT
PONOKA
LACOMBE
RIBSTONE
DEER
STETTLER
1926
BEAVER RIVER
STURGEON
1930
BEAVER RIVER
STURGEON
LEDUC
CAMROSE
WAINWRIGHT

Map 18. Electoral Constituencies of East Central Alberta, 1905-30.

Taken from A Report on Alberta Elections, 1905-82. Edmonton: Provincial Archives of Alberta, 1983. Pages 21, 24, 28, 32, 37, 43, 48.

2. Ukrainians and the Liberal Party

From 1905 when Alberta attained provincial status until 1921 the Liberal Party governed the province. During this period they won substantial majorities on four occasions--in 1905, 1909, 1913 and 1917. Lewis G. Thomas has explained the first Liberal triumph in the following terms:

> At the inauguration of the province the Liberal Party had every advantage on its side. A Liberal government was in power in Ottawa, and the appointment as lieutenant governor of a staunch Liberal, G.H.V. Bulyea, ensured that the first premier and the first cabinet would be of that political complexion. The Liberals thus captured without a blow the institutions of the new province, a victory that left the issue of the first election in little doubt.[6]

To the surprise of no one the Liberals captured 23 of 25 seats in the first provincial election held on 9 November 1905. Four years later the Liberals easily held on to power winning 37 of 41 seats. On this occasion Premier Rutherford's promise to extend the availability of railroad services assured the Liberal victory. Although the Alberta and Great Waterways Railway Company scandal of 1910 precipitated Rutherford's resignation and divided the Party, in 1913, led by A.L. Sifton, the Liberals captured 38 of 56 seats. Alberta farmers, having concluded that both parties were corrupt, voted for the Liberals as the lesser of two evils. Liberal legislation prior to the election had been concerned with implementing most of the resolutions passed by the most recent UFA convention.[7] During WWI interest in provincial politics diminished. As a result the June 1917 election did not change the composition of the Alberta legislature. However, Alberta Liberals suffered a severe blow when the federal Liberal Party split over the conscription issue and A.L. Sifton left provincial politics to become a member of Prime Minister R.L. Borden's Union government. Sifton's successor, Charles Stewart, was unable to hold the Party together. When the postwar recession hit Alberta farmers with special force, the Liberals were swept out of office in 1921.

Table 25: Legislative Seats and Percentage of Popular Vote by Political Party, 1905, 1909, 1913, 1917[8]

Election	Total Seats	Liberal Seats	Conservative Seats	Other Parties Seats
9 November 1905	25	23	2	--
22 March 1909	41	36	2	3
17 April 1913	56	38	18	--
7 June 1917	56	34	19	5
By-elections (1905-21)	27	19	5	3

Throughout the period of Liberal dominance, Liberal support and Liberal majorities had consistently been most impressive in the northern half of the province (north of Red Deer) which was populated by immigrants from central and eastern Europe.[9] It was no accident that the immigrants were in the Liberal camp. In the first place, the Liberal Party had inaugurated Canada's "open-door" immigration policy when it took power in Ottawa in 1896, and it consistently proclaimed the virtues of the newcomers. Conservatives on the other hand had referred to immigrants from eastern Europe in the most unflattering terms and tried to postpone the enfranchisement of immigrants who did not speak English. Secondly, the Conservatives were seen as the party of the eastern capitalists and their local agents, while the Liberals were reputed to be the champions of the farmers and the "little man." Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the Liberal Party had developed an excellent system of recruiting immigrant leaders. In the words of D.J. Hall, Clifford Sifton's reorganized immigration service acted as a "system for [the] politicization of the immigrants."[10] Immigration officials served as Liberal propaganda agents at election time; government subsidized ethnic newspapers (like the Ukrainian-language *Kanadyiskyi farmer* [Canadian Farmer] launched in 1903) urged immigrants to vote Liberal; and influential immigrants were identified and informed of all the advantages of belonging to the Liberal Party and working on its behalf. Frequently such men received additional incentives in the form of jobs as homestead inspectors, weed inspectors or school organizers.

The success of this policy in east central Alberta may be gauged by examining the table below. Between 1905 and 1921, all 11 of the MLAs elected to represent constituencies which were contained in whole or in part within the bloc settlement area, were Liberals.

Table 26. MLAs representing Provincial Constituencies in Bloc Settlement Area, 1905-21[11]

Constituency	1905	1909	1913	1917
Sturgeon	J.R. Boyle (Liberal)	J.R. Boyle (Liberal)	J.R. Boyle (Liberal)	J.R. Boyle (Liberal)
Vermilion	M. McCauly (Liberal) J.B. Holden (Liberal)*	A. Campbell (Liberal) A.L. Sifton (Liberal)*	A.L. Sifton (Liberal)	A.L. Sifton (Liberal) A.W. Ebbet* (Liberal)
Victoria	F.A. Walker (Liberal)	F.A. Walker (Liberal)	F.A. Walker (Liberal)	F.A. Walker (Liberal)
Vegreville	-----------	J.B. Holden (Liberal)	J.S. McCallum (Liberal)	J.S. McCallum (Liberal)
Pakan	-----------	P.E. Lessard (Liberal)	-----------	-----------
Whitford	-----------	-----------	A.S. Shandro (Liberal)	A.S. Shandro (Liberal)
Beaver River	-----------	-----------	W. Gariepy (Liberal)	W. Gariepy (Liberal)
St. Paul	-----------	-----------	P.E. Lessard (Liberal)	P.E. Lessard (Liberal)

* Elected in by-election

During this same period the federal constituency of Victoria, which encompassed all of east central Alberta was represented by W.H. White, a Liberal.

Although they consistently elected Liberal MLAs and MPS during this period, Ukrainians failed to influence Liberal policy. The Liberals were perfectly willing to find minor patronage positions for influential immigrants who could deliver the "Ruthenian vote". However they were not willing to accede to Ukrainian demands for bilingual education and political representation. Because they had recruited influential immigrants representing all conceivable orientations the Liberals were well placed to exploit divisions within the Ukrainian community. Ukrainian leaders for their part were unable to mobilize the immigrant community. Many of the settlers were still too busy fulfilling Homestead Act requirements to pay much attention to these political issues. Some simply wanted to be left alone believing that all their problems would be solved if they had enough land. Others suspected that would-be Ukrainian leaders were concealing personal ambitions beneath their patriotic rhetoric. In the end all of these factors prevented Ukrainians from exerting effective pressure on the Liberal administration.

Prior to 1913 Peter Svarich (1877-1966) of Vegreville was the Liberals' most important political agent in the bloc settlement. Svarich had been born in the Galician village of Tulova, Sniatyn district, the eldest of five children in a fairly prosperous peasant family. By tutoring classmates he was able to finance a gymnasium (high school) education. Able to read Ukrainian, Polish and German, he studied Radical and Socialist pamphlets, became acquainted with the ideas of Franko, Drahomanov and Marx, and almost joined the Radical Party. In 1898 he decided to accompany the rest of his family to Canada, convinced that as a relatively well-educated individual he would be able to serve his people as well as carve out a comfortable living for himself. After working at a variety of jobs and participating in the Alaska gold rush he settled down in the Kolomea district northeast of Vegreville.[12]

As an educated and prosperous settler who spoke English, belonged to the Presbyterian-sponsored Independent Greek Church, welcomed Protestant missionary activity, and was critical of the Greek Catholic and Russian Orthodox clergy, Svarich must have impressed the Liberals as a reliable ally.[13] Moreover, his Radical sympathies notwithstanding, Svarich expressed few reservations about the capitalist system, where production was carried on for profit rather than for the satisfaction of basic human needs. Writing in one of the first issues of Ukrainskyi holos (Ukrainian Voice) in 1910, he had argued that it was time for

Ukrainians to stop complaining about capitalists and time for them to start learning from them because "it will be easier and more practical for us to take advantage of the existing order rather than to destroy it."[14] Capitalism, he insisted, was responsible for the discoveries, technical advances and general improvements in living standards that people now enjoyed. Rejecting socialist arguments that only the producer created wealth, Svarich insisted that the capitalist who displayed entrepreneurial initiative and risked his investments, was entitled to reap profits: "the millions [of dollars] belong to individual capitalists just as grain belongs to the farmer."[15] If the profit motive was removed, "no one would exert himself and in place of gigantic enterprises stagnation and apathy would reign. People would become indifferent, disinterested and would live from day to day, without any ambitions, without any yearnings, without any progress."

Svarich and a number of other influential immigrants associated with Ukrainskyi holos[16] believed that the majority of Ukrainian settlers were well on their way to becoming independent farmers and small businessmen. They believed that the immigrants' economic problems could be solved through cooperation and education. "[We] must first of all turn our attention to economic activity. We must organize cooperatives, educate the people to turn to trade and industry, [and] inculcate thrift, punctuality and self-reliance." They did not question the profit motive and were only concerned with breaking the Ukrainian immigrants' dependence on non-Ukrainian merchants and businessmen. It was with this objective in mind that enterprises such as the National Cooperative Company Limited had been organized (see Chapter 5). And it was their anxiety to provide Ukrainian children with a good education so that they would be competitive in Canada's free enterprise society that prompted them to press for concessions in the realm of education.[17]

Svarich's ideas on economic self-help were orthodox enough. It was his views on education and political representation that brought him into disfavour in Liberal circles. By 1909 Svarich and his associates were concerned that Ukrainian settlers were not realizing all the opportunities that the New World offered. Because of the absence of teachers and schools in the bloc settlement they feared Ukrainians in Alberta had actually fallen behind their countrymen in Galicia who had made remarkable social and cultural gains during the first decade of the century.[18] To reverse this trend Svarich began to propose resolutions --at local Liberal constituency meetings and at Ukrainian public meetings --calling upon the Alberta government to resolve the shortage of teachers by introducing a bilingual system like the one in Manitoba and Saskatchewan (see Chapter 4, section 4). He also suggested that Ukrainians stand as candidates during the next provincial election. Svarich felt that the Liberals owed the Ukrainians a few Ukrainian MLAs and a more efficient school system for their consistent electoral support. If the Liberals were not forthcoming, the Ukrainians would have to elect their own independent representatives.

Svarich fell out of favour with the Liberals in February 1913. On 14 January a viche organized by Svarich, Roman Kremar, Michael Gowda, Paul Rudyk and Gregory Krickersky, was held in Vegreville to discuss Ukrainian strategy during the election campaign that would precede the provincial elections scheduled for April. As already noted in Chapter 4, the viche elected a narodnyi komitet (people's committee) which met with Premier Sifton and J.R. Boyle, Minister of Education. The committee presented its demands for educational reform and criticized the Liberal Redistribution Bill which threatened to minimize the importance of the Ukrainian vote and to diminish the electoral chances of prospective Ukrainian candidates. The committee's petition was rejected and the Liberals turned to Andrew Shandro and a group of Russophiles to deliver the "Ruthenian" vote without raising the school issue.

Andrew ("Andy") S. Shandro (1886-1942), the man selected to carry the Liberal banner in the overwhelmingly Ukrainian constituency of Whitford, was a young Bukovynian farmer of Russian Orthodox persuasion, who had come under the influence of local Russophiles led by Michael Ostrovsky and Vasyl Cherniak. Shandro was the son of a prosperous peasant who had held the positions of radnyi (councillor) and viit (mayor) in the village of Ruskyi Banyliv prior to emigrating in 1898. After taking a few business courses at Alberta College the young Shandro turned to farming and business at which he was fairly successful. His entry into politics was facilitated by the fact that he had worked on the farm of W.H. White, a homestead inspector and a prominent local Liberal, who represented the federal constituency of Victoria in Ottawa between 1908 and 1921.[19] Unlike Svarich, the younger Shandro had not been exposed to the social and political ideas which agitated the Ukrainian intelligentsia at the turn of the century. As a result it is not surprising that Shandro displayed none of Svarich's concern about broad public issues and allowed himself to be manipulated by the Russophiles and the Liberals.

Having been spurned by the Liberal Party, which preferred to ally itself with Russophiles, and having been made to understand that the Conservatives were not interested in running any Ukrainian candidates,[20] Svarich, Rudyk, Gowda and Krickersky decided to run as Independents in Vegreville, Whitford, Victoria and Vermilion. Although Gowda and Krickersky ran modest campaigns, Svarich and Rudyk mounted serious challenges. All four received the backing of the only Ukrainian newspaper in Alberta, Roman Kremar's Novyny (News), which was published in Edmonton. In view of their limited appeal to the non-Ukrainian electorate and in view of the fact that both confronted Ukrainian-speaking opponents--Shandro and Joseph McCallum, a Scot who had learned Ukrainian --it is not surprising that the Independent candidates lost.

Table 27. Results of Elections Contested by Independent Ukrainian Candidates, April 1913[21]

Constituency	Liberal	Conservative	Independent Ruthenian	Independent
Vermilion	A.L. Sifton (772)	J. Clark (571)	H. Krickersky (276)	-----------
Vegreville	J.C. McCallum (812)	F.A. Morrison (420)	P. Svarich (544)	-----------
Whitford	A.S. Shandro (499)	R.L. Hughson (133)	P. Rudyk (312)	C.F. Connoly (118)
Victoria	F.W. Walker (773)	R.A. Bennett (268)	M. Gowda (196)	-----------

In the final analysis the Independent Ukrainian (Ruthenian) candidates failed to overcome a number of all but insuperable obstacles. First, they could not compete with the well oiled Liberal machine. The Liberals had cultivated the immigrant vote for years; the Independent candidates entered the campaign a few weeks before the election. Secondly, the Ukrainian community was deeply divided. Not only the Russophiles and the Russian Orthodox clergy, but also the Greek Catholic clergy refused to support the Independent candidates because all four were members of the Independent Greek Church.[22] Thirdly, many English-speaking settlers voted against the Independent candidates because they perceived a "Ruthenian" conspiracy in their unprecedented initiative. Finally, according to Ukrainskyi holos some of the less enlightened Ukrainian settlers refused to vote for the Ukrainians because they were consumed by envy.[23]

The campaign in Whitford, where Rudyk confronted Shandro, was especially bitter. Rudyk had financed his own campaign and brought in Taras Ferley, a prominent Ukrainian leader from Winnipeg (who would himself become an Independent Liberal MLA in Manitoba in 1915) to campaign on his behalf. Rudyk had also flaunted a letter from C.W. Cross, the Liberal Attorney General, which suggested that Rudyk rather than Shandro should be the official government candidate in Whitford. Shandro and the returning officer, a relative, retaliated either by having Rudyk arrested and detained prior to the election, or by spreading rumors to the effect that Rudyk has forged Cross's signature and that he had been arrested.[24]

After Shandro's victory Rudyk brought court action on two counts against Shandro. The first concerned damages caused by Shandro's allegations about the letter, the second charged electoral corruption. Rudyk claimed that some polling booths were not open at all on the day of the election, that the deputy returning officers would not show ballot boxes to Rudyk's scrutineers, and that Shandro and his associates had used money to bribe voters.[25] Although Rudyk won the case in November 1914 and Shandro was unseated, in a by-election held on 15 March 1915, Shandro regained the seat by defeating Roman Kremar 697-484.[26]

The 1913 election marked the rise to prominence in Liberal circles of the Russophile faction. Immediately after the election the Liberals began to expel bilingual Ukrainian teachers from the province. Members of the government began to refer to Ukrainians as "Russians", the School Act was published in Russian, and the government justified its actions by citing laudatory resolutions passed at Russophile meetings and by pointing to a "prominent Ruthenian" like "Andy" Shandro to prove that "Ruthenians" did not wish bilingual education. The passionate (and somewhat exaggerated) protests of Roman Kremar, the editor of Novyny and the founder of the Committee for Native Language Schools in Alberta (Komitet Ridnoi Shkolky v Alberti) were for naught.[27]

The outbreak of war magnified Russophile influence and intensified their efforts "to discredit the nationally conscious sector of the Ukrainian community . . . [by exposing] the traditional anti-Russian bias of most Austrian Ukrainians."[28] Bishop Budka's pastoral letter urging Ukrainians to enlist in the Austrian army and Paul Crath's short-lived Society for an Independent Ukraine, which advocated the breakup of Britain's ally, the Russian Empire, both drew accusations of treason from the Russophiles and the Liberal Edmonton Bulletin. As a result the Russophiles were able to represent themselves as the only trustworthy spokesmen for the "Russo-Austrians" as they now called Ukrainians. Although Svarich and other nationally conscious Ukrainian leaders mobilized Ukrainians behind the war effort and collected donations for the Patriotic Fund, Shandro received the greatest amount of attention and praise in the English-language press.

Russophile influence began to wane in 1917. The collapse of the Russian Empire and the prospect of Ukrainian independence contributed to the deterioration of Russophile fortunes. More significant was Shandro's rather ambiguous renunciation of Russophilism. In January and February 1917, Shandro published letters in Ukrainskyi holos in which he declared himself a Ukrainian and blamed the Russophile editors of Russkii golos and Russkii narod for leading him astray.[29] However, Shandro did not recant his Russophilism or proclaim himself a Ukrainian in the English-language press or in the Alberta legislature. His biography in the

Parliamentary Guide continued to describe him as a "Russian".[30] With the provincial election in the offing Shandro may have been trying to reassure Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian voters alike. Be that as it may, Shandro qualified for re-election by acclamation on 7 June 1917 by enlisting in the 218th Forestry Battalion. Lieutenant Shandro remained in Edmonton for the duration of the war recruiting his countrymen.[31]

In 1921, however, neither the Liberals nor Shandro could devise a strategy for holding on to power. Plummeting grain prices and the UFA's decision to enter politics sealed the Liberal Party's fate in the province. Nor did memories of 1913 and the new sense of Ukrainian national consciousness help the Liberals in east central Alberta. At first Shandro managed to hold on to office in a manner reminiscent of his tactics in 1913. William Hawreliak, the returning officer in Whitford and a close relative of Shandro's, rejected the nomination papers of Mike Chornohus, the UFA candidate, on the grounds that they were improperly filled out. Shandro was declared elected by acclamation. As might be expected, action in the courts followed swiftly and in December 1921 the seat was declared vacant. Shandro lost the by-election held in 1922.[32] In the years that followed he also lost his reputation.[33]

3. Ukrainians and the United Farmers of Alberta

Between 1921 and 1935 the UFA governed Alberta. The election of a UFA government in 1921 marked the high point of the "farmers' revolt" which had started brewing at the turn of the century. Since about 1901 farmers had been organizing to protest against protective tariffs on farm implements and machinery, to demand government regulation of railway freights rates and grain marketing practices, and to establish their own grain elevator companies. As already noted, in Chapter 5, the Territorial Grain Growers' Association had been formed in 1903; it was succeeded by the Alberta Farmers' Association in 1905 and by the UFA in 1909. By 1913 the UFA had established the Alberta Farmers' Cooperative Elevator Company Limited, which became part of the United Grain Growers' Company Limited in 1917. Prior to 1918 the UFA and its leader Henry Wise Wood were satisifed to articulate farmers' demands by lobbying Liberal politicans who complied by doing the farmers' bidding.

The modus vivendi between the UFA and the Liberals came to an end shortly after WWI. Falling grain prices and the abolition of the Wheat Board distressed farmers who now began to demand a moratorium on rapidly accumulating farm debts. It was only a matter of time before they concluded that the existing system of party politics was to blame for the unsettled state of affairs.

> Wood regarded the party system as an autocratic instrument of the moneyed classes and unsuitable to be a democratic movement. In the place of party politics Wood suggested "group government". In essence the theory of group government argued for a non-exploitative democracy based upon functional representation by occupational groups. Members of the legislature would be considered instructed delegates from the group that elected them.[34]

Consequently, in 1921 the UFA took direct political action by nominating candidates for the July provincial elections. On 18 July the UFA, led by

Herbert Greenfield, swept into power capturing 38 of 59 seats. In 1926, led by the more dynamic J.C. Brownlee and buoyed by the return of prosperity the UFA easily held on to power winning 43 of 60 seats. Four years later the UFA received a third mandate, capturing 39 of 63 seats. On this occasion the timely resolution of two problems served the UFA well.[35] In February 1929 the provincial government agreed to relinquish a number of provincially run railways to the CPR and the CNR. In turn, the latter two agreed to complete extensions of these lines initiated by the Alberta government. In December 1929 the federal government finally agreed to transfer jurisdiction over natural resources to the province. The fact that wheat prices were still holding their own in the spring of 1930 also helped assure the UFA victory.

Table 28. Legislative Seats and Percentage of Popular Vote by Political Party, 1921, 1926, 1930[36]

Election	Total Seats	Liberal Seats	Conservative Seats	UFA Seats	Other Parties Seats
18 July 1921	59	15	--	38	6
25 June 1926	60	7	4	43	6
19 June 1930	63	11	6	39	7
By-elections (1921-30)	8	4	--	3	1

Unlike the Liberals, who preceded them, the UFA was strongest in the southern agrarian heartland of Alberta. In the 1921, 1926 and 1930 elections the UFA won all but nine of over 100 contests south of Red Deer and consistently received 60 to 70 per cent of the popular vote.[37] In the northern half of the province the UFA always won more than half the seats, but they were never as dominant as they were in the south. This was due to two facts as Flanagan has shown. First, many farmers in the north were still engaged in subsistence agriculture and as a result were less susceptible to the fluctuations in grain prices. Secondly, the area northeast of Edmonton had a very high proportion of Ukrainian and French settlers. Both groups were not as easily attracted to the Protestant, Anglo-Saxon UFA "with its mores of social reform, popular democracy and moral rectitude [prohibition]."[38] Nevertheless, between 1921 and the early 1930s, 10 of 13 MLAs elected to represent constituencies in east central Alberta, were members of the UFA.

Table 29. MLAs representing Provincial Constituencies in Bloc Settlement Area, 1921-35[39]

Constituency	1921	1926	1930
Sturgeon	S.A. Carson (UFA)	S.A. Carson (UFA)	S.A. Carson (UFA)
Vermilion	R.G. Reid (UFA)	R.G. Reid (UFA)	R.G. Reid (UFA)
Victoria	W. Fedun (UFA)	R. Henning (UFA)	P.A. Miskew (UFA)
Vegreville	A.M. Matheson (Prog-UFA)	A.M. Matheson (UFA)	A.M. Matheson (UFA)
Whitford	M. Chornohus (UFA)*	G. Mihalcheon (UFA)	I. Goresky (UFA)
Beaver River	J.M. Dechene (Liberal)	J.A. Delisle (UFA)	H.H. Dakin (Liberal)
St. Paul	W.J. Joly (UFA)	L. Joly (UFA)	J.M. Dechene (Liberal)

The solidly Ukrainian constituencies--Victoria and Whitford--returned only UFA MLAs. The only Liberals were elected in the predominantly French-speaking constituencies of Beaver Hill and St. Paul. Throughout the period, the federal constituency of Victoria (renamed Vegreville in 1926) was represented by farmers' MPs: the Progressive W.T. Lucas (1921-25) and UFA MPs A.M. Boutillier (1925-26) and Michael Luchkovich (1926-35).

Many Ukrainians sympathized with the Canadian farmers' movement from its earliest days. During the years 1918-21 there was a groundswell of Ukrainian support for the UFA.[40] In 1923 an effort was made to establish an autonomous Ukrainian section of the UFA although it did not succeed. As Andrij Makuch has shown, "the incompatibility of Ukrainian aspirations with the strongly English, Protestant and assimilationist bent of the UFA"[41] prevented the farmers' party from realizing its potential in the bloc settlement area. A "lack of sustained organizational effort" also hurt the UFA. Thus, although Ukrainians supported the UFA's cooperative projects and gave solid electoral support to the UFA, they did not join any of the UFA organizations and felt no strong commitment to the movement. The Ukrainian attitude to the UFA was one of expedience. The UFA was seen as an alternative to the old established political parties, a new third party that offered an opportunity to nominate and elect Ukrainians to legislative positions. The 1926 election of Michael Luchkovich, the first Ukrainian MP, marked the high point of Ukrainian cooperation with the UFA.

The Ukrainian movement in Galicia and Bukovyna prior to 1914, like the Canadian agrarian movement, had been populist in orientation, reformist in its aims and "dedicated to improving the lot of farming people."[42] From its inception in 1910, the Winnipeg-based Ukrainskyi holos had informed its readers about the Canadian farmers' movement, translated articles and cartoons that had appeared in the Grain Growers' Guide, and urged Ukrainians to support the farmers' movement. Although few Ukrainian farmers were actively involved in the Canadian movement prior to 1918, they had tried to organize themselves in Alberta. In July 1912, following meetings in Uhryn and Myrnam, the Organization of Ruthenian Farmers in Alberta (Organizatsiia Ruskykh Farmeriv v Alberti) was formed. Established to "sponsor educational activities . . . set up a cooperative marketing and buying system; and elect Ukrainian political representatives"[43] the Organization expired within a year because it lacked leadership and direction. In January 1917 the Ukrainian Farmers' Union of Alberta (Soiuz Ukrainskykh Farmeriv Alberty) was established in Vegreville. Its objectives were almost identical to those of the organization established in 1912. Like the former it quickly ran into problems and expired.

The first attempts to organize Ukrainian farmers had failed because they had been premature. Ukrainian farmers turned to commercial agriculture in significant numbers only after 1917-18. However, once they started buying machinery, expanding the size of their farms, and producing grain for the market, Ukrainian farmers became susceptible to the same economic forces that played havoc with most Canadian farmers. As grain prices fell precipitously after 1919, Ukrainian farmers who had just purchased farm machinery began falling into debt. They now began to appreciate at first hand the need for farmers' representatives in the legislature.

As a result the potential for Ukrainian entry into the UFA existed between 1918 and 1921. Ukrainians formed UFA locals in a number of communities and began attending district and provincial conventions. The UFA in turn made a conscious effort to recruit Ukrainian farmers. An informational pamphlet on UFA achievements was translated into French, German and Ukrainian; a "Foreign-Born Committee" was formed to involve non-British settlers in UFA activities; and the UFA Executive donated $400 to launch a Ukrainian language organizational paper--Farmerske slovo (The Farmers' Word)--which appeared five times in the spring of 1921. In Victoria constituency a number of Ukrainians were engaged as UFA organizers. Consequently, by 1921 there may have been as many as 3,000 Ukrainian UFA members organized in 47 locals.[44] Two Ukrainian conventions held in Edmonton in 1921 expressed support for the farmers' movement and when the election came on 18 July 1921 Ukrainians voted for the UFA.

Two Ukrainian UFA candidates--William Fedun in Victoria and Michael Chornohus in Whitford--were elected to the Alberta legislature in 1921-22. Fedun, who defeated F.W. Walker the Liberal incumbent 1401-1288, had been born in the village of Zavydche, Radekhiv district, Galicia, in 1879. His family had come to Alberta in 1898 and settled in Krakow, southwest of Andrew. A prosperous farmer, Fedun had run a general store, served as a school trustee and municipal councillor, and had become a director of the UFA in 1921. A Presbyterian, Fedun was an active prohibitionist. In his maiden speech he lamented the seriousness of the drinking problem in Alberta. He also tried to pressure the government to sponsor a Ukrainian-speaking public health nurse, a home economist and an agricultural lecturer in the bloc settlement. Because he did not speak English fluently, Fedun's participation in debates was rather limited.[45] Chornohus, who defeated Shandro 1846-525 in a by-election held in July 1922, had been born in Ruskyi Banyliv, Bukovyna, in 1888. His father had served as secretary-treasurer on the village council. The family settled in the Desjarlais district, nine miles northeast of Willingdon in 1900. Although Chornohus had served as reeve of the Eagle Municipal District in 1919-21, he had not obtained a good education and did not speak English well. Not unexpectedly, he was rarely heard from after his election.[46]

Relations between Ukrainians and the UFA began to sour shortly after the election. Within three years Ukrainian membership had fallen below 300. To a degree this decline was related to general provincial trends.[47] The exceptionally high interest in the agrarian movement sustained by election fever, dropped after the 1921 election; the economic situation began to improve for many farmers; and, by 1923-24 the Wheat Pool was consuming local energies. Yet, while overall UFA membership declined, Ukrainian participation all but disappeared. Andrij Makuch has suggested a number of specific reasons for the sharp decline in Ukrainian participation.[48] In the first place the material needs of Ukrainian farmers were not congruent with those of English-speaking farmers. Most Ukrainian farmers practiced mixed farming rather than concentrating on cash grain crops. Consequently they needed instructional materials on modern farming methods rather than strategies for grain marketing. Unfortunately the UFA did not publish such materials in non-English languages. Secondly, the social distance between Ukrainian and English-speaking farmers hampered mutual understanding. Ukrainians were relatively less prosperous, spoke little or no English and felt uncomfortable in an organization established to meet the needs of English-speaking farmers. The assimilationist bent of the UFA increased their discomfiture. UFA conventions extended greetings to the Great War Veterans' Association whose members incited nativist riots in 1918; they opposed an open door immigration policy and called for "strictly selective immigration on the basis of assimilability" during the 1920s; and they demanded legislation forbidding east European immigrants to settle in blocs. Thirdly, the UFA entered Ukrainian districts late and failed to integrate into the social fabric. By the 1920s Ukrainian farmers had already established narodni domy which offered the same social and educational services provided by the UFA and its auxiliary organizations in other parts of the province. As a result the United Farm Women of Alberta and the Junior UFA were absent from Ukrainian districts. Moreover, the UFA did not provide a Ukrainian organizer nor did it fund Ukrainian-language publications, although these were requested. Finally, the lack of Ukrainian leadership and organizational ability was also an important factor. The first generation of Galician born and/or educated leaders had lost much of its credibility as a result of its association with the Liberal Party. A new Canadian born and/or educated generation had not yet reached maturity. As a result, at this critical juncture, Ukrainians had to make do with men like Fedun and Chornohus who lacked a flair for leadership. In 1926 both failed to win renomination in their constitutencies, leaving Ukrainians without representation in the Alberta legislature between 1926 and 1930.

Had it not been for Toma Tomashevsky, who published Nash postup (Our Progress), a pro-farmer paper between 1922 and 1928, the organization of Ukrainian farmers would have been a dead letter after 1921. Although Tomashevsky failed to forge a Ukrainian farmers' organization, his effort is well worth closer scrutiny since Nash postup played a key role in the election of Michael Luchkovich to Parliament.

Tomashevsky had been born in the village of Stetseva, Sniatyn district, Galicia, in 1884. As a youth he had been preparing for university but financial difficulties forced his peasant parents to emigrate. In 1900 the family settled down near Chipman and Toma went out in search of employment, first as a migrant labourer and then as a coal miner in the Lethbridge area. For several years he was an active organizer for the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats. By 1912 he had left the socialist movement disillusioned by the dogmatism and bickering which went on among its leaders. He spent the next decade acquiring a good deal of experience working for the Ukrainian press as a printer and contributor.[49]

Unlike most other Ukrainian papers, Nash postup was strongly committed to the immediate alleviation of economic problems. The paper published a very considerable number of articles on modern farming techniques, many of them by George Syrotiuk a government agronomist. It also wrote about and endorsed the wheat pools. Finally, Nash postup supported all initiatives to organize Ukrainian farmers. In June 1923 a conference organized by the paper attracted 80 delegates to Edmonton and produced a resolution to organize a Ukrainian "section" of the UFA:

> Ukrainians would take on the responsibility of organizing and maintaining their own locals . . . the UFA would be responsible for representing their interests as farmers at the various levels of government, printing literature in Ukrainian, and hiring an organizer for them.[50]

As in the past, however, nothing came of this initiative. Although the UFA's provincial executive advised the Ukrainians to introduce their proposal at the UFA's Annual Convention, the Ukrainians failed to attend for reasons that remain obscure.

The federal election of 1925 and the provincial election of 1926 revealed the powerlessness of Ukrainians and their lack of political organization. At the 1925 Liberal and UFA nominating conventions in the federal constituency of Victoria Ukrainains had been easily manipulated in spite of the their large numbers. The following spring Ukrainians had not only failed to elect a single Ukrainian MLA, their representatives, Fedun and Chornohus, failed to win renomination. A rush of Ukrainian candidacies ensued, and seven Ukrainians ran in the three constitutencies of Whitford, Victoria and Vegreville.[51] None were serious candidates and they only managed to split the Ukrainian vote. Not surprisingly then, the unexpected resignation of the Liberal government in Ottawa in the summer of 1926, was seen as an opportunity to atone for past mistakes. Only third parties like the UFA appeared to offer an avenue to power in Ottawa for Ukrainains. Ukrainians and the UFA stood to benefit from the election of Ukrainians to public office. A Ukrainian UFA MP would represent Ukrainian farmers "both as an ethnic and an occupational group" and he would provide the UFA with "a stable base of political power."[52] All that remained to be done was to find a Ukrainian candidate acceptable to both groups.

Such a candidate was found in the fluently bilingual (English-Ukrainian) person of Michael Luchkovich, a school teacher from Innisfree. Luchkovich had been born in Shamoikin, Pennsylvania in 1893. He came to Canada in 1907, completed his high school education at Manitoba College, and received a B.A. in political economy from the University of Manitoba in 1916. A year later he obtained a First Class teaching certificate at the Calgary Normal School. By 1921 he was addressing the UFA Annual Convention on behalf of Alberta's Ukrainians. In 1925 he had demonstrated his commitment to the UFA by declining an invitation from the Liberals to run federally.[53]

In 1926 Luchkovich won the UFA nomination in the federal constituency of Vegreville (formerly Victoria), defeating Peter Miskew and the incumbent, H.A. Boutillier, on the third ballot 85-81. Luchkovich's impeccable credentials prevented an anti-Ukrainian backlash. Although there had been fears that English-speaking farmers would not vote for a Ukrainian, the UFA Executive endorsed Luchkovich and Arthur Matheson, the Vegreville MLA--a Scot who spoke Ukrainian--campaigned on Luchkovich's behalf. Even the Catholic and Orthodox clergy supported Luchkovich. With this kind of backing Luchkovich became the first Ukrainian MP in Canada on 14 September 1926, defeating his Liberal opponent Joseph McCallum--another Ukrainian-speaking Scot--4106-3378.

Luchkovich's election, and his more than creditable performance in the House of Commons--he vigorously refuted attacks on east European and Ukrainian immigrants made by opponents of Canadian immigration policy, and he raised the issue of the violation of minority rights in Poland--convinced many Ukrainians that it was necessary to elect men with a sound education to public office. In 1930 Luchkovich was re-elected for a second term in Ottawa. During the Alberta provincial elections, held in the spring of 1930, seven Ukrainians contested seats in the three constituencies of Sturgeon, Victoria and Whitford.[54] Two of them--

Isidore Goresky in Whitford and Peter Miskew in Victoria--both members of the UFA emerged victorious. Goresky, born in the village of Barbivtsi, Bukovyna, in 1902, had come to Canada with his parents in 1905. He received his high school education in Winnipeg, graduated from the Normal School and in 1925 obtained a B.A. from the University of Manitoba. In 1926 he accepted the position of principal at the Smoky Lake high school. Shortly before his election he had earned an M.A. from the University of Alberta. Miskew was born in 1899 in the village of Biliavtsi, Brody district, Galicia. His family settled hear Mundare in 1902. He completed high school in Vegreville, received B.A. and M.A. degrees from the University of Alberta, attended Normal School and taught in various schools in east central Alberta. During their term in office both men pressed for the provision of essential services by government Departments in the bloc settlement area, and for more Ukrainian representation in the civil service.[55]

Although Ukrainians and the UFA had been able to cooperate in electoral politics, no lasting relationship had developed. Few Ukrainians belonged to any of the UFA organizations and they "regarded the UFA more as a status quo party [rather] than a protest [party]."[56] Prior to the 1935 election Miskew crossed the floor and joined the Liberals. He felt he had been slighted on a number of occasions because of his Ukrainian origin, and he was convinced that a committee appointed to redraw constituency boundaries "was making a special effort to cut down the number of seats in which Ukrainians could be elected."[57] The superficial integration of Ukrainians into the UFA, as Makuch has observed, was of little or no consequence while times were good. However, when the country found itself in the grip of the Great Depression, this lack of integration became significant. Now Ukrainians "were more likely to seek other means of expressing their discontent. The pro-Communist Ukrainian Labour-Farm Temple Association . . . provided such an outlet."[58]

4. Ukrainians and the Communist Party of Canada

During the Depression years of the early 1930s Ukrainians acquired an unsavoury reputation for their pro-Communist sympathies. Why this was so may not be immediately clear. The Communist Party of Canada (CPC) did not contest any provincial or federal elections in the bloc settlement area prior to 1935. When they did run candidates they captured less than 33 per cent of the popular vote and failed to win any seats. The Ukrainians' reputation as CPC sympathizers rested on the *relative* strength of the Farmers' Unity League (FUL) in the bloc settlement area. The FUL, founded in December 1930 and disbanded in 1936, was conceived as the CPC's vehicle for waging a militant class struggle in rural Canada. Ivan Avakumovic has described the role of the FUL in the following terms:

> The intention of the CPC was to base the FUL on 'committees of action' set up to 'handle a specific local issue or issues' . . . In the 1930s the FUL concentrated on a program of immediate demands. It called for organized resistance to evictions, the cancellation of debts and tax arrears, free education, medicare and 'an income of not less than $1000 per year for all poor farmers' . . . The guaranteed income was to be raised by 'a heavy tax on the profits of corporations' that were 'growing fat'. At the same time the FUL advocated the 'unity of the oppressed farmers with the industrial workers for a revolutionary Workers' and Farmers' Government . . . [FUL] committees gained notoriety when they spearheaded successful resistance to evictions and organized 'non-delivery strikes' to withhold the sale of grain as a protest against the grading practices of elevator companies.[59]

The first FUL committees were established in the Ukrainian bloc settlement in east central Alberta because the ULFTA (see Chapter 4, section 6) provided the CPC with a convenient entree and because there were few UFA locals to provide any resistance. East central Alberta was expected to become a base from which the FUL could expand. In fact however, it remained confined, by and large, to this area. Yet, if the

FUL was much stronger in the Ukrainian bloc settlement area than elsewhere in the province, it nevertheless remained a marginal phenomenon among Ukrainian farmers. Consequently the Ukrainians' reputation as Communist sympathizers was highly exaggerated if not completely undeserved.

The origins of radical left-wing politics among Ukrainian Canadians may be traced to the first decade of the century. The first organized Ukrainian socialist groups emerged in 1907. All were affiliated with the Socialist Party of Canada (SPC). The first socialist paper, *Chervonyi prapor* (The Red Flag) appeared only 18 times in Winnipeg (1907-08) before folding. A fresh attempt to mobilize Ukrainian workers was launched in May 1909 when *Robochyi narod* (The Working People) began to appear in Winnipeg. The response generated was strong enough to convoke a conference of the 11 existing Ukrainian socialist groups in Canada. On 12 November 1909 delegates representing groups in Winnipeg and Brandon, Manitoba; Calgary, Edmonton, Wostok, Canmore, Cardiff and Phoenix, Alberta; Hosmer and Vancouver, B.C.; and Montreal, Quebec formed the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats in Canada (*Federatsiia Ukrainskykh Sotsial Demokrativ Kanady*--FUSD).[60]

The men who led the Ukrainian socialist movement during the pre-war years--Paul Crath (Pavlo Krat), Myroslav Stechishin, Wasyl Holowacky--had all been associated with radical and socialist groups in the Old Country. Although they referred to themselves as Social Democrats, they were ethical socialists rather than doctrinaire Marxists. In 1910 the FUSD broke its ties with the SPC and participated in the formation of the Social Democratic Party of Canada. The FUSD leaders criticized the SPC for its ultra-radical posturing and its refusal to grant the FUSD a greater measure of autonomy.

Between 1910 and 1914 leadership within the movement passed into the hands of younger, more radical men. The change in leadership reflected changes in the composition of the Ukrainian labour movement in Canada. As single males recruited for labour on the railroads and in the mines became more numerous the movement became more radical and more narrowly class-oriented. By 1915 the first generation of leaders had left the socialist camp for more moderate Ukrainian circles. The new leaders-- Matthew Popowich, John Navis (Ivan Navizivsky) and Danylo Lobay--stood closer to the Galician Social Democrats than to the Galician Radicals and they were moving leftward on the eve of war. They maintained ties with Ukrainian Social Democrats in Galicia, Bukovyna, Russia and Europe. The change in leadership was accompanied by a change of name. In 1914 the FUSD became the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party in Canada (Ukrainska Sotsial Demokratychna Partiia Kanady--USDP).

The FUSD and USDP enjoyed their greatest support in urban, industrial and mining centres. In addition to organizing Ukrainian wage-earners for the defence of vital economic and political interests and extending aid to the Canadian labour movement, the Ukrainian socialists organized economic self-help groups and attempted to provide enlightening, morally-uplifting recreations such as readings, plays and concerts.[61] In mining towns and frontier camps they provided the only alternative to the bar-room, billiard hall and brothel. Even after they had settled down to homestead, many Ukrainian immigrants continued to support the socialists and subscribe to their press. In this manner a popular base for radical left-wing political activity was established in many rural areas.

The economic depression of 1913-14 and the internment of many USDP leaders and rank-and-file members as "enemy aliens" in 1915-16[62] brought the Ukrainian socialist movement to a standstill. By 1917-18, however, a revivified economy and the release of Ukrainian internees had revitalized the USDP. So too did the Russian Revolution. In that conflict the USDP had declared its support for the Bolsheviks by December 1917.[63] Shortly before the conclusion of WWI Robochyi narod claimed to have 3,000 subscribers and the USDP boasted over 2,000 members in at least 26 locals. Although the party and paper were both suppressed by Orders-in-Council in September 1918 at the height of the "red scare", the Ukrainian Canadian left was able to regroup around the Ukrainian Labour Temple (Ukrainskyi Robitnychyi Dim). The latter, an impressive $72,000 edifice in North Winnipeg, had been constructed in 1918-19 to serve as the organizational and publishing headquarters for the Ukrainian labour movement. A new organization, the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association (ULTA), and a new paper, *Ukrainski robitnychi visti* (Ukrainian Labour News), were established in 1919, and the following year a National Convention of the ULTA was held. Nominally an autonomous organization, the ULTA became a front organization for the CPC after ULTA leaders had participated in the formation of the CPC in 1922. During the years that followed the ULTA provided revenue, recruits and a captive audience for CPC propaganda.

The 1920s were a period of unprecedented growth for the Ukrainian left. As already noted in Chapter 4, the ULTA was able to expand because of the high quality of its leadership, its patriotic appeal to Ukrainians, and the excellence of its community services. Prior to 1924 this expansion took place in urban centres. In 1924 however, in response to directives issued by the Communist International (Comintern), the CPC began to extend its influence into rural areas using the ULTA as a wedge. The ULTA changed its name to the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (*Tovarystvo Ukrainskyi Robitnycho Farmerskyi Dim*) and a newspaper for farmers, *Farmerske zhyttia* (The Farmers' Life) edited by Dmytro Prystash was established. During the next few years a women's section, a youth section, the Workers' Benevolent Association (*Robitnyche Zapomohove Tovarystvo*), and the Association to Aid the Western Ukrainian Liberation Movement (TODOVYRNAZU) were founded. Simultaneously the ULFTA moved to absorb local *narodni domy* or to build new community halls in districts where they perceived potential support. In order to attract recruits, cultural and educational programs were offered in these halls. By 1931, the ULFTA and its auxilliary organizations boasted, 6,644 members nation-wide: 3,478 ULFTA members in 112 locals, 1,438 women's section members and 1,728 youth section members.

Prior to October 1930 the CPC and the ULFTA gave nominal support to the UFA. ULFTA members were content to increase their influence by assuming control of weak UFA locals. The CPC did not run any candidates in 1925 or 1926, nor did Communists contest any UFA nominations. In 1926 and 1930 they even supported Luchkovich, albeit halfheartedly. All this changed in the summer of 1930 when the Comintern abandoned its moderate policy of "burrowing from within" first promulgated in 1924 and declared itself in favour of militant class struggle. As a result, Ukrainian Canadian Communists moved "out of their ULFTA halls and out into the streets."[64] Their sudden appearance provided English-speaking Albertans, devastated by the Depression, with a highly visible scapegoat on which to vent their frustrations.

The formation of the FUL was announced at a CPC sponsored farmers' convention held in Saskatoon in the fall of 1930. The CPC hoped that the FUL would hasten the disintegration of 'reformist' farm organizations such as the UFA, thereby prompting their members to join the Communist-led FUL. FUL headquarters were established in Saskatoon with W.E. Wiggins as full-time national secretary. A district office was established in Edmonton late in 1930. The most prominent figure in the Alberta FUL prior to 1933 was Carl Axelson, a Swedish-born Communist. Having formally denounced the UFA Axelson and FUL activists set out to organize Alberta farmers. Since the ULFTA provided an easy entree into the bloc settlement area, Axelson and an interpreter spent two months (December 1930-February 1931) delivering speeches in the region. By the time his tour ended most Ukrainians were suspected of having Communist sympathies and the struggle against Communism began to assume ethnic overtones. The fact that the FUL made little progress elsewhere in the province only reinforced the tendency to identify Ukrainians with Communism.

A number of FUL actions gave Ukrainians who sympathized with the movement a high profile in Alberta. On 21 December 1932 Ukrainian farmers constituted the majority of the 2,000 demonstrators who participated in the "Hunger March" on Edmonton. Although a scuffle with the police generated a great deal of publicity for the FUL, the demonstration was a failure. The demonstrators did not even manage to present their demands to Premier Brownlee. From November 1933 until February 1934 the FUL organized and led a successful farmers' strike in Myrnam. Farmers suspended grain deliveries when it was discovered that the five elevator agents in Myrnam were colluding to keep grain prices down by downgrading the farmers' grain. The action was supported by farmers of all political and religious persuasions and stimulated a wave of sympathy strikes in the immediate area. At the end of February 1934 the Board of Grain Commissioners confirmed the farmers' "charges of unfair grading practices and removed the delinquent operators."[65] The success of the Myrnam strike lifted FUL morale. The euphoria of FUL activists were shortlived. When farmers in the Mundare region complained about unfair grading practices and mounted a picket line in November 1934 their leaders were immediately arrested by the RCMP. A FUL call for a general strike by local farmers fell on deaf ears. This was the last major action organized by the FUL in east central Alberta. By 1935 the Comintern had decided to abandon its policy of militant class struggle in favour of a "united front" against the rising threat of fascism.

If Ukrainian farmers were more easily drawn into the ranks of the FUL than their English-speaking counterparts there were a number of reasons for this. The UFA had never been a viable organization in the bloc settlement. Ukrainian farmers voted for the UFA but did not feel comfortable in an organization led and dominated by assimilationist, English-speaking Protestants who opposed immigration from eastern Europe to Canada. Consequently this non-Communist outlet for rural discontent was not effective among Ukrainian farmers. Ukrainian community leaders for their part denounced the Communist menace, organized anti-FUL rallies, and even demanded that Communist agitators (including Ukrainians) be deported.[66] However they made no effort to provide an alternative outlet for the Ukrainian farmers' discontent. Although Orthodox and Catholic nation-wide community organizations--the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (Soiuz Ukraintsiv Samostiinykiv) and the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood (Bratstvo Ukraintsiv Katolykiv)--had emerged by the early 1930s[67] they were not particularly concerned with the plight of workers and struggling farmers. The former attracted primarily upwardly mobile teachers, professionals, businessmen and prosperous farmers. The latter was composed of the most conservative rural elements. As a result Ukrainian leaders failed to address socio-economic grievances. Because they feared that the CPC was using Ukrainian farmers as cannon fodder[68] and because their dreams of "respectability" were imperilled every time

Ukrainian farmers were identified as Communists, Ukrainian leaders cautioned Ukrainian farmers and workers to accept the status quo and hope for the best. Only Toma Tomashevsky's latest publishing venture, Farmerskyi holos (The Farmers' Voice), which appeared between 1932 and 1934, managed to siphon off some FUL support by encouraging Ukrainian farmers to revive defunct UFA locals and to look to the CCF as a viable alternative.

Even so, Communist sympathizers constituted a small fraction of the Ukrainian community. According to the most generous estimates, ULFTA membership never represented as much as five per cent of the Ukrainian Canadian population. The FUL which was not exclusively Ukrainian in membership, numbered only 3,500 nation-wide at its peak in 1933-34. Even in east central Alberta, ULFTA/FUL support was concentrated in the Smoky Lake and Two-Hills--Myrnam districts. These districts, it will be recalled from the discussion in Chapter 3, were the least economically developed areas in the bloc settlement. Moreover, when it finally ran candidates in the provincial and federal elections of 1935, the CPC lost both contests. The best they could do was act as "spoilers" taking votes away from Ukrainian UFA candidates (Goresky and Luchkovich) and enabling the Social Credit Party to win both contests.[69]

In fact the CPC had been unable to overcome the deep antipathy to Communism which had grown within the Ukrainian Canadian community between 1918 and 1933. Between 1917 and 1920 the Bolsheviks had fought and defeated the Ukrainian People's Republic which most Ukrainian Canadians recognized as the only legitimate representative of the Ukrainian people. In 1923 the nominally independent Ukrainian Soviet Republic had been incorporated into the Russian-dominated U.S.S.R. Although the five or six years that followed were a period of unprecedented economic prosperity and cultural self-expression, the emergence of Stalin as undisputed leader of the CPSU marked a decisive turning point. In 1930 a show trial involving 45 Ukrainian intellectuals was held in Kiev. The accused were charged with membership in an organization dedicated to the overthrow of the Soviet state. The worst fears of Ukrainian Canadians were confirmed during the next three years. The cultural purge continued, prominent Western Ukrainian intellectuals who had immigrated to the Soviet Union during the 1920s were arrested and executed, and the drive to collectivize agriculture at break neck speed culminated in an artificial famine which took the lives of at least 3 million Ukrainians in 1933.[70] These developments not only prevented the ULFTA/FUL from attracting a larger following, they also led to a schism within the ULFTA in 1935. Only the Depression, the social distance which separated Ukrainian farmers from their English-speaking counterparts, and the estrangement of many Ukrainian farmers and workers from the "respectable" middle class Ukrainian community organizations, sustained the ULFTA in the years that followed.

ENDNOTES

Chapter Six: The Political Activity of Ukrainians in East Central Alberta

1. Andrij Makuch, "In The Populist Tradition: Organizing the Ukrainian Farmer in Alberta, 1905-1935" (Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Alberta, 1983), vii-viii, 23. This is the only serious effort to describe and analyze Ukrainian political activity in Alberta. I have relied heavily on Makuch's findings.

2. V.J. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895-1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), xii-xiv.

3. Sidney I. Pobihushchy, "The Development of Political Socialization of Ukrainians in Alberta" *Slavs in Canada* II (1968), 23.

4. Makuch, 42-43.

5. Makuch, vii, 33-34, makes much of the bond and the trust which existed between the intelligentsia and the peasantry in Galicia. In Canada, where the intelligentsia was less educated and more plebian than it had been in the Old Country, there seems to have been less trust and more envy or suspicion.

6. Lewis G. Thomas, "The Liberal Party in Alberta, 1905-1921" in Carlo Caldarola, ed., *Society and Politics in Alberta: Research Papers* (Toronto: Methuen, 1979), 3.

7. James G. MacGregor, *A History of Alberta* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1981), 215.

8. See the Tables in Caldarola, Appendix I; and J.A. Long and F.Q. Quo, "Alberta: One Party Dominance" in Martin Robin, ed., *Canadian Provincial Politics: The Party Systems of the Ten Provinces* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall 1972), 3.

9. Thomas Flanagan, "Ethnic Voting in Alberta Provincial Elections, 1921-1975" in Caldarola, 304.

10. D.J. Hall, "Clifford Sifton: Immigration and Settlement Policy 1896-1905" in Howard Palmer, ed., *The Settlement of the West* (Calgary: Comprint Publishing, 1977), 80-81.

11. Compiled from *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1905-1921, edited by E.J. Chambers (Ottawa: The Mortimer Company Ltd., 1905-21).

12. Makuch, 44. For more information about Svarich's formative years see his *Spomyny: 1877-1904* (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1976).

13. Svarich also knew Cyril Genik of Winnipeg who was the first Ukrainian employed by the Department of Immigration.

14. *Ukrainskyi holos* 20 April 1910.

15. *Ukrainskyi holos* 27 April 1910.

16. *Ukrainskyi holos* was published in Winnipeg and reflected the national-populist views of the nascent Ukrainian Canadian intelligentsia, composed at the time of young male bilingual teachers. Svarich, Paul Rudyk and Gregory Krickersky were all shareholders in this publishing venture.

17. *Ukrainskyi holos* 27 September 1916; Svarich and his associates believed that only by hiring Ukrainian (bilingual) teachers could the shortage of teachers in the bloc settlement be resolved.

18. Makuch, 46.

19. Joseph M. Lazarenko, "Ukrainians in Provincial Politics" in Joseph M. Lazarenko, ed., *The Ukrainian Pioneers in Alberta Canada* (Edmonton: Ukrainian Pioneers' Association, 1970), 42-43.

20. William A. Czumer, *Recollections About the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada* (Edmonton: CIUS, 1981), 101-02.

21. *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide 1914* (Ottawa: The Mortimer Company Ltd., 1914), 548-50.

22. The Basilian, Rev. N. Kryzhanovsky of Mundare was accused of phoning parishioners and ordering them to vote for Catholic candidates. *Ukrainskyi holos* 2, 30 April, 14 May 1913.

23. *Ukrainskyi holos* (editorial) 7 May 1913.

24. There seems to be some controversy with respect to the tactics used by Shandro. Compare Lazarenko, 44 and Czumer, 127-28.

25. *Vegreville Observer* 25 June 1913 and 11 November 1914; cited in Isidore Goresky, "References About Ukrainians in the Vegreville Observer from 1907 to 1921" in Lazarenko, 47-48, 157.

26. Kremar ruined his chances by adopting a very pro-Conservative stand and claiming to run as a Conservative. The Alberta Conservatives disowned Kremar publicly for his pro-bilingual stand. See Makuch, 73-75.

27. For Kremar's activity in 1913-14 see Czumer, 103-21 and Manoly Lupul, "Ukrainian Language Education in Canada's Public Schools" in M.R. Lupul, ed., *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), 231-33.

28. Frances Swyripa, "The Ukrainian Image: Loyal Citizen or Disloyal Alien" in F. Swyripa and J.H. Thompson, eds., *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War* (Edmonton: CIUS, 1983), 48.

29. The letter of 7 February 1917 has been reproduced in Czumer, 128-30.

30. The biography of Shandro in the *Parliamentary Guide* seemed to be a mixture of truth and fantasy. For example it stated that his "Grandfather was a Judge, and one of his sons is a general and another an officer commanding in the Austrian army." *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide 1914*, p. 542. Shandro's grandfather was a village elder or mayor who exercised quasi-judicial functions. Some of his relatives may have held non-commissioned ranks in the army. See Lazarenko, 43-44.

31. Swyripa, 52.

32. *Vegreville Observer* 13 July, 7 September, 7 December 1921.

33. On 28 November 1924 Andrew S. Shandro was convicted of theft by conversion and sentenced to six months imprisonment in the provincial penitentiary at Fort Saskatchewan. It appears that in December 1923 Shandro, in his capacity as a steamship agent, had accepted $164.00 from one Wasyl Wajowitka of Vegreville, to cover the costs of transporting Ilya Fodczuk from Poland to Canada. He then converted this sum for his own use. Wajowitka brought charges on 12 September 1924 after failing to receive a satisfactory explanation from Shandro concerning the whereabouts of his money and/or Fodczuk. See *APP Annual Reports*, Provincial Archives of Alberta (72.370), Report of Inspector Commanding "A" Division, 1924, p. 27.

C. Becker, Solicitor, Attorney General's Department, Alberta, filed the following information in a letter to J.E. Brownlee, the Attorney General on 21 October 1924: Shandro ". . . conducted a business in which he arranged for transportation with certain steamship companies from Russia to Canada and acted as CPR Agent also. While doing so he accepted from a number of persons, aggregating possibly 15, sums of money ranging from $200.00 to $400.00, with directions from such persons to purchase transportation and arrange for the immigration of certain relatives of theirs from Russia to Canada. In most of these cases no such transportation has been purchased and no arrangements have been made and the money has not been returned."

Shandro was released from prison on 25 April 1925 after the Govenor General's Office asked that he be released under a Ticket-of-Leave. In September 1925, the Attorney General of Alberta received a letter from the Consul General of Poland in Montreal writing on behalf of a man who had left Alberta for Galicia in 1920 and was still waiting for $350.00 he had entrusted to Shandro. See Department of Attorney General, Criminal Cases 1915-1928, PAA (72.26), File 6075 C.

34. Long and Quo, 4.

35. Carl F. Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921-1935" in Caldarola, 18-19.

36. See note 8.

37. Thomas Flanagan, "Political Geography and the United Farmers of Alberta" in Susan Trofimenkoff, ed., The Twenties in Western Canada (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1972), 152.

38. Ibid., 156.

39. Compiled from The Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1922-31.

40. The remainder of sections 2 and 3 recapitulates some of the major findings presented in Chapters 3 and 4 of Makuch's thesis, the only study of Ukrainian relations with the UFA and the CPC in east central Alberta.

41. Makuch, 84.

42. Ibid., 90.

43. Ibid., 93-94.

44. Ibid., 96.

45. Lazarenko, 46-47.

46. Ibid., 48.

47. Carl F. Betke, "Farm Politics in an Urban Age: The Decline of the UFA after 1921" in L.H. Thomas, ed., Essays on Western History (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1976), 179.

48. Makuch, 97-102.

49. Ibid., 103. Also see M. Marunchak, V zustrichi z ukrainskymy pioneramy Alberty (Winnipeg: General Library "UKT", 1964), 48-59.

50. Makuch, 109.

51. The Ukrainian candidates, and the number of votes they received, were:

Victoria		Whitford	
William Pylypow (Ind. Lib.)	322	A.S. Shandro (Ind. UFA)	373
G.H. Moisey (Ind. UFA)	96	N. Grekol (Lib.)	371
William Pullisny (Cons.)	90	E. Michajliuk (Cons.)	274

Vegreville	
P. Bahry (Ind. UFA)	377

See *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide 1927*, edited by A.L. Normanden (Ottawa: The Mortimer Company, 1927), 359-63.

52. Makuch, 112-13.

53. See Isidore Goresky et al., eds., *Ukrainians in Alberta* vol. II (Edmonton: Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta, 1981), 39-102, for a brief biography of Luchkovich. Also see his autobiography, *A Ukrainian Canadian in Parliament* (Toronto: Ukrainian Research Foundation, 1965).

54. The defeated Ukrainian candidates were:

Sturgeon	John Kuzek (Lib.)	1129
Victoria	S.W. Bahlay (Lib.)	1522
	(Rev.) E. Olendy (Ind.)	47
Whitford	George Szkwarok (Lib.)	766
	S. Suwala (Ind.)	47

See *Canadian Parliamentary Guide 1931*, 357-60.

55. Lazarenko, 48-50.

56. Makuch, 122.

57. Lazarenko, 51.

58. Makuch, 122.

59. Ivan Avakumovic, "The Communist Party of Canada and the Prairie Farmer: The Interwar Years" in D. Bercuson, ed., *Western Perspectives I* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974), 80-81.

60. See Orest T. Martynowych, "The Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada, 1900-1918" *Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies* 1 (Fall, 1976), 27-44 and 2 (Spring, 1977), 22-31, for background.

61. Andrij Makuch, "The Kiew ULFTA Hall: A Structural History" (Unpublished Report, UCHV, HSS, Alberta Culture, 1983), 34.

62. See Peter Melnycky, "The Internment of Ukrainians in Canada" in Swyripa and Thompson, eds., Loyalties in Conflict, 1-24.

63. Martynowych, Journal (Spring 1977), 27-30.

64. Makuch, "In the Populist Tradition", 138.

65. *Ibid.*, 156 ff.

66. *Ibid.*, 140.

67. On these see Ol'ha Woycenko, "Community Organizations" in Lupul, 173-94.

68. Makuch, 147-48, refers to the Estevan strike of 1931 as an example of the CPC's instigation of violent conflict. Two Ukrainian strikers lost their lives in a clash with police.

69. Makuch, 161. In Whitford the CPC candidate Mike Novakowsky received 966 votes to Isidore Goresky's (UFA-CCF) 940. Maxim Tomyn (SC) won with 1,265 votes. In the federal elections in Vegreville Matthew Popowich (CPC) received 2,001 votes, Luchkovich (UFA) received 3,628 votes and William Haywurst (SC) won with 4,124 votes.

70. Makuch, 136-37. For recent discussions of this period in Ukraine see James E. Mace, Communism and the Dilemmas of National Liberation: National Communism in Soviet Ukraine, 1918-1933 (Cambridge, Mass.: HURI, 1983) and Janusz Radziejowski, "Collectivization in Ukraine in Light of Soviet Historiography" Journal of Ukrainian Studies 9 (Fall, 1980) 3-17.

Summary

Summary

Since this report is a survey of selected topics based on published and unpublished works, rather than a work of original research offering a new interpretation, a summary seems more appropriate at this point than a formal conclusion.

1. The overwhelming majority of Ukrainians who settled in east central Alberta emigrated from three compact regions of eastern Galicia and northern Bukovyna: a) The southeastern part of eastern Galicia (Pokuttia and southern Podillia) and the central part of northern Bukovyna. b) The northeastern part of eastern Galicia (the area between the towns of Sokal and Brody). c) The Sian River valley in the northwestern portion of eastern Galicia.

Conditions in these regions suggest that an inadequate supply of land, the persistence of large estates, isolation from industrial centres, and policies of economic and national oppression were decisive factors in precipitating emigration.

The degree to which the cultural and political awakening of the late nineteenth century had penetrated the villages abandoned by the peasants who immigrated to east central Alberta remains to be ascertained. However a number of the better educated and influential immigrants who came to east central Alberta had participated in village government and belonged to reading clubs (chytalni) and recreational associations (sich). Some were active proponents of Radical, Russophile, National Populist or Socialist orientations.

2. The first Ukrainian settlement in Canada was established in east central Alberta in 1892. By 1914 the Ukrainian bloc settlement in east central Alberta extended over a territory of 2500 square miles. It stretched from Bruderheim in the west to Slawa in the east and from Smoky Lake and Vilna in the north to the lands adjacent to 1905 CNoR line in

the south. At the end of our period, in 1930, almost 50,000 persons of Ukrainian descent inhabited the region.

Although many Ukrainian immigrants -- in east central Alberta and elsewhere in Western Canada -- settled on marginal agricultural lands, it was not the unavailability of good open grasslands or discrimination by government officials that accounted for this fact. Rather, social factors -- the traditional resource perceptions of peasants and the strength of kinship, village, district and religious bonds -- were responsible. Most Ukrainians who settled in east central Alberta, especially those who arrived prior to 1904, selected better than average lands. However, the latecomers who settled along the northern and eastern edges of the bloc settlement received lands of inferior quality.

The persistence of traditional peasant perceptions, beliefs and behaviour patterns had a bearing on land selection *and* inter-personal relations in the Ukrainian settlements of east central Alberta prior to 1930. The extent of this influence remains to be studied in depth.

3. Between the turn of the century and the mid-1920s, the advent of railroads, war-generated demand for agricultural products, and the construction of rural roads, all helped to transform the typical Ukrainian farmstead in east central Alberta from a traditional peasant subsistence farm into a semi-mechanized commercial operation.

By 1930 the Ukrainian farmers of east central Alberta were the envy of Ukrainians in all parts of Canada. Yet, although they were better-off than Ukrainians in other parts of the country, they owned and cropped less land than the average Alberta farmer. Moreover, they owned fewer head of cattle and lived on farms worth about $1,200 less than the average Alberta farm.

These disparities were especially evident in the northwestern (Smoky Lake #576, Vilna #575) and eastern (Sobor #514, Ukraina #515) districts of the bloc settlement, which had been settled after 1905 and where the land was forested and frequently of inferior quality.

4. The emergence, in east central Alberta, of local institutions and rural communities at least partly reminiscent of Old Country villages, was facilitated by chain migration and gravitational

settlement. It was impeded and/or retarded by the division of land into homesteads; by the scarcity of priests and village school teachers who had traditionally acted as community leaders; and by the economic concerns of undercapitalized settlers. Only during the 1920s did most rural communities boast the full complement of institutions -- church, school and community hall -- that served to distinguish them.

Churches were the first community institutions to be erected by the immigrants. Often they preceded the arrival of missionaries and the construction of the settlers' own permanent dwellings. The inadequate supply of Ukrainian Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox missionaries, the activity of French-speaking Roman Catholic and English-speaking Protestant missionaries, and the Radical or Russophile sympathies of influential immigrants combined to multiply religious divisions within the Ukrainian community. By the 1920s most Ukrainians in east central Alberta belonged to one of four denominations: Greek Catholic, Russian Orthodox, Ukrainian Greek Orthodox or Presbyterian (United Church after 1925).

Schools were the second institution to appear in most rural communities. Although settlers were sometimes unwilling to assume the responsibility of building and maintaining a school and paying a teacher's salary, School Districts were organized and schools built in most Ukrainian communities between 1905 and 1914. An efficient school system did not come into existence until the mid-1920s, however. The teaching profession's low status and the Alberta Department of Education's refusal to countenance semi-qualified bilingual Ukrainian teachers meant that most Ukrainian School Districts were left without any teachers for most of the year. The problem was resolved only after teachers were guaranteed a minimum salary, improved roads made schools accessible, and Ukrainian farmers were prosperous enough to provide their children with a high school and Normal School education. During the 1930s, about 80 to 90 per cent of the teachers in the bloc settlement were of Ukrainian origin or descent.

Although a few reading clubs began to meet in private homes shortly after 1900, most community halls were built during the 1920s.

High agricultural prices had carried many Ukrainian farmers to prosperity during and after the war providing them with the time and the financial resources required to build these institutions. The emergence of a small contingent of Ukrainian teachers and professionals provided the personnel required to make these institutions work. The community halls served as social and cultural centres where the settlers were integrated into Canadian society and introduced to the issues that were agitating Ukrainians overseas.

5. The construction of three railroads in 1905 (CNoR), 1917-20 (CNoR/CNR) and 1927 (CPR) through east central Alberta integrated the region into the capitalist market economy prevalent in North America. Most of the towns that grew up along the railroads remained English-speaking islands in a Ukrainian-speaking sea. The largest and most profitable enterprises in the towns -- the grain elevators, banks, lumber yards and creameries -- were usually the property of national or international corporations, with headquarters in London, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Calgary and Edmonton. Ukrainians constituted a tiny fraction of the merchants in all but a handful of the towns and everywhere they were concentrated in a number of relatively unprofitable enterprises: livery stables; blacksmith shops; shoe and harness repair shops; grocery, confectionary, hardware, general and second hand stores; meat markets; feed mills; implement dealerships; garages and service stations; and billiard halls/tobacco shops. Prior to 1930 the number of Ukrainian lawyers, MDs, dentists, veterinarians, pharmacists and high school teachers in the railroad towns of east central Alberta could be counted on the fingers of one hand.

On the positive side, the railroads and the towns enabled Ukrainian farmers to break out of the dull routine and poverty that accompanied subsistence farming. By making medical, legal and educational facilities more widely available and more readily accessible they helped to break down the isolation and to extend the social and cultural horizons of the immigrants.

6. Efforts to mobilize Ukrainian immigrants for political activity in pursuit of bilingual schooling, proportional representation

and farmers' rights met with little success prior to 1921. Bitter experience had taught many of the peasant immigrants to be suspicious of all governments and politicians. In Canada efforts to organize Ukrainian immigrants were also complicated by the fact that most could afford to be concerned with little more than physical survival and the development of their own homesteads for at least the first ten years. Prior to 1921 the only Ukrainian elected to the Alberta legislature was a Russophile who was largely indifferent to the issues that concerned most Ukrainians.

By comparison the political achievements of Ukrainians during the 1920s were impressive. War and revolution overseas had raised the national and political consciousness of many immigrants. Moreover, as they turned to commercial farming after 1918, Ukrainian farmers began to appreciate at first hand the need for MLAs and MPs who would look after their occupational interests. Finally the emergence of a third party -- the United Farmers of Alberta -- provided a unique opportunity for Ukrainians to seek nomination and win election to the provincial legislature and the federal parliament. During the 1920s four MLAs and one MP -- the first one in Canada -- were elected. However, Ukrainians never became fully integrated into the Anglo-Protestant UFA, nor did they manage to develop their own farmers' organizations. This made them relatively more responsive to the Communist Party of Canada during the 1930s.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

WITH ANNOTATIONS

Contents

INTRODUCTION 350

1. BIBLIOGRAPHIC GUIDES AND HISTORIOGRAPHIC STUDIES 351

2. UKRAINE (late 19th -- early 20th century) 353

- A. General 353
- B. Galicia and Bukovyna on the Eve of Emigration 354
  - i) Society and Politics 354
  - ii) Material and Popular Culture 359
- C. War and Revolution 362
- D. Ukraine During the 1920s 364

3. WESTERN CANADA (late 19th -- early 20th century) 366

- A. General 366
- B. Westward Expansion 367
- C. French-Canadians, Quebec and the West 369
- D. Immigration and Colonization 372
- E. Agriculture 377
- F. Industry, Railroads and Labour 380
- G. Towns and Cities 384
- H. Politics 385
- I. The Church, School and Reform Movements 390
- J. Immigration and Immigrants as Seen by Contemporaries 397

4. UKRAINIANS IN ALBERTA 401

- A. General Studies of Ukrainians in Canada and Alberta 401
- B. Settlement and Farming 403
- C. Religion, the Church and Protestant Missions 407
- D. Education and Cultural Life 412
- E. Political Activity 414
- F. Ukrainian Immigrants as Seen by Contemporaries 417
  - i) Ukrainian 417
  - ii) English-speaking 418
- G. Commemorative Books and Histories 419
  - i) Ukrainian 419
  - ii) English-language Local Histories 420

INTRODUCTION

This bibliography has been prepared for researchers and interpretive personnel employed by the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, a historic site sponsored by Alberta Culture. In addition to bibliographic guides and historiograhic studies, the bibliography lists published books and articles and unpublished reports, theses and dissertations, under three headings that will be of concern to Village employees: Ukraine (late 19th--early 20th century); western Canada (late 19th--early 20th century); and, Ukrainians in Alberta. I have kept the entries under the first heading to a minimum, listing standard reference works and articles directly relevant to an understanding of Ukrainian immigrants in east central Alberta. The list of entries under the other two headings is more complete although it is by no means exhaustive. This is especially true of section 3 -- western Canada -- where only those titles which are more or less directly relevant to the study of Ukrainians in east central Alberta were included. For new titles researchers are advised to consult Historical Abstracts; Bibliography of the World's Historical Literature and America: History and Life both published four times per annum in Santa Barbara, California, by the American Bibliographical Centre and Clio Information Services. Articles on Canadian history are listed and abstracted in America: History and Life.

I have annotated those entries which are of particular relevance to the study of Ukrainian life in east central Alberta. I have relied on abstracts in America: History and Life when I was not familiar with an entry. However, all critical evaluations of individual entries are my own and reflect my opinion alone.

1. BIBLIOGRAPHIC GUIDES and HISTORIOGRAPHIC STUDIES

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Krotki, Joanna. *Local Histories of Alberta: An Annotated Bibliography.* Edmonton: Division of East European Studies, University of Alberta, 1980.

Magocsi, Paul Robert. *Galicia: A Historical Survey and Bibliographic Guide.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983.

Malycky, A. "University Research on Ukrainian Canadians: A Preliminary Check List of Dissertations and Theses." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* I (1) (1969), 72-76.

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Perin, Roberto. "Clio as an Ethnic: The Third Force in Canadian Historiography." *Canadian Historical Review* LXIV (4) (1983), 441-67.

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------- The History of Canada: An Annotated Bibliography. Santa Barbara, California: ABC-Clio Information Services, 1983.

Strathern, Gloria M. Alberta, 1954-1979: A Provincial Bibliography. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1982.

Swyripa, Frances. Ukrainian Canadians: A Survey of Their Portrayal in English-Language Works. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1978.

------- "Theses and Dissertations on Ukrainian Canadians: An Annotated Bibliography." Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies 4 (Spring 1978), 91-110.

------- "Survey of Ukrainian Canadian Historiography." In A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, edited by Manoly R. Lupul, pp 310-26. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982.

2. UKRAINE (late 19th -- early 20th century)

A. General

Allen, W.E.D. The Ukraine: A History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940.

Davies, Norman. God's Playground: A History of Poland. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.

The finest work on Poland in the English language.

Diadychenko, V.A., et al. Istoriia selianstva Ukrainskoi RSR. (A History of the Peasants of the Ukrainian SSR). 2 vols. Kiev: AN URSR, 1967.

A survey of social and political history by a team of leading Soviet Ukrainian scholars.

Doroshenko, Dmytro. A Survey of Ukrainian History. Edited, updated and with an introduction by Oleh W. Gerus. Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1975.

Textbook survey originally written during the 1930s by a prominent Ukrainian historian of conservative views.

Hrushevsky, Michael. A History of Ukraine. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941.

A survey prepared by the dean of Ukrainian historians in 1904 and updated by members of the Yale faculty.

Jaszi, Oszkar. The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.

A classic.

Kann, Robert A. The Multinational Empire: Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1848-1918. 2 vols. New York: Columbia University Press, 1964.

------- A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1526-1918. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974.

Implicitly suggests that the empire did not serve its people very justly or very well. Strong on domestic affairs.

Kubijovic, Volodymyr, gen. ed. *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia.* 2 vols. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963-68.

Contains lengthy and informative articles on Ukrainian history, the Church, and folk customs.

May, Arthur J. *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1867-1914.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951.

Rothschild, Joseph. *East Central Europe Between the Two World Wars.* A History of East Central Europe vol. IX. Edited by Peter F. Sugar and Donald W. Treadgold. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1974.

Tronko, P.T., et al, gen. eds. *Istoriia mist i sil Ukrainskoi RSR.* (A History of the Towns and Villages of the Ukrainian SSR). 26 vols. Kiev: Holovna redaktsiia URE, 1969.

A fine reference work containing notices ranging from one or two paragraphs to ten or fifteen pages on all Ukrainian towns, cities and villages. Emphasis is on social and political developments rather than on architecture and layout.

Yaremko, Michael. *Galicia-Halychyna: From Separation to Unity.* Toronto: Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1967.

A survey of political history (1340-1945) by an amateur historian which fails to set the history of Galicia within the larger context of European history.

B. Galicia and Bukovyna on the Eve of Emigration

i) Society and Politics

Bilinsky, Yaroslav. "Mykhailo Drahomanov, Ivan Franko and Relations Between the Dnieper Ukraine and Galicia in the Last Quarter of the XIXth Century." *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the US* VII (1-2) (1959), 1542-66.

Botushansky, V.M. *Stanovyshche i kliasova borotba selianstva pivnichnoi Bukovyny v period imperializmu.* (The Condition of the Peasantry and the Class Struggle in Northern Bukovyna During the Period of Imperialism). Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1975.

------- "Pidnesennia straikovoi borotby selian pivnichnoi Bukovyny na pochatku XX st (1900-07 rr)" (The Wave of Peasant Strikes in Northern Bukovyna at the Beginning of the 20th Century (1900-07)). *Mynule i suchasne pivnichnoi Bukovyny* I (The Past and the Present of Northern Bukovyna I), 18-29. Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1972.

Budzynovsky, Viacheslav. "Agrarni vidnosyny v Halychyni" (Agrarian Relations in Galicia). *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka* (Notes of the Shevchenko Scientific Society) IV (1894), 29-123.

Excellent survey of agrarian conditions in eastern Galicia c. 1890 by a prominent Radical.

Chmelar, Johann. "The Austrian Emigration, 1900-1914." *Perspectives in American History* VII (1973), 275-378.

Provides much valuable statistical data on emigration from Galicia and Bukovyna as well as other provinces and crownlands of Austria.

Dei, Oleksii. *Ukrainska revoliutsiino-demokratychna zhurnalistyka.* (Ukrainian Revolutionary-Democratic Journalism). Kiev: AN URSR, 1959.

Excellent study of the intellectual origins of Ukrainian Radicalism (1870-90) by a talented Soviet historian.

Himka, John-Paul. "Polish and Ukrainian Socialism: Austria, 1867-1890." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1977.

------- "Voluntary Artisan Associations and the Ukrainian National Movement in Galicia (the 1870s)." *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* II (2) (1978), 235-50.

------- "Priests and Peasants: The Uniate Pastor and the Ukrainian National Movement in Austria, 1867-1900." *Canadian Slavonic Papers* XXI (1) (1979), 1-14.

------- "Ukrainskyi sotsiializm u Halychyni [Do rozkolu v Radykalnii partii, 1899 r.]" (Ukrainian Socialism in Galicia [To the Split in the Radical Party in 1899]) *Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies* 7 (Fall 1979),33-51.

------- "Hope in the Tsar: Displaced Naive Monarchism Among the Ukrainian Peasants of the Habsburg Empire." *Russian History* VII (1-2) (1980), 125-38.

------- "The Greek Catholic Church and Ukrainian Society in Galicia." Unpublished paper. CIUS, University of Alberta, 1981.

------- "Young Radicals and Independent Statehood: The Idea of a Ukrainian Nation State, 1890-1895." Slavic Review XL (2) (1982), 219-35.

------- "The Background to Emigration: Ukrainians of Galicia and Bukovyna 1848-1914." In A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, edited by Manoly R. Lupul, pp. 11-31. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982.

------- Socialism in Galicia: The Emergence of Polish Social Democracy and Ukrainian Radicalism (1860-1890). Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1983.

Himka's articles offer fascinating glimpses of the nascent Ukrainian national and socialist movements at the grass roots level. His monograph surveys the rise of socialist movements in Galicia from the beginning of the constitutional era in the Habsburg Empire (1860) to the emergence of socialist political parties (1890). Although Ukrainian socialism was peasant oriented while Polish socialism was oriented toward the industrial working class, both were built upon foundations provided by national movements (ie. both appropriated organizational forms first created by their non-socialist predecessors). By mobilizing the masses for political action the socialists also nationalized the masses. Indispensable reading.

Kompaniiets, I.I. Stanovyshche i borotba trudiashchykh mas Halychyny, Bukovyny ta Zakarpattia na pochatku XX stolittia (1900-1919). Kiev: AN URSR, 1960.

Good summary of agrarian relations. Discussion of politics not very reliable.

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Review of contemporary literature in German and Polish on emigration from Austria to North America.

Kvitkovsky, Denys, et al. Bukovyna: Ii mynule i suchasne. (Bukovyna: Its Past and Present). Paris: Zelena Bukovyna, 1956.

A good overview of the history and culture of Bukovyna by Ukrainian emigre scholars. Contains a chapter on Bukovynian villages and one on Bukovynians in the diaspora.

Levytsky, Kost. Istoriia politychnoi dumky halytskykh ukraintsiv, 1848-1914. (A History of the Political Thought of Galician Ukrainians, 1848-1914). Lviv: The Author, 1926.

A history of parliamentary activity rather than political thought, which reflects the tensions within Ukrainian society. The author was a prominent participant in the events he describes.

Markovits, Andrei S. and Frank E. Sysyn, eds. Nationbuilding and the Politics of Nationalism: Essays on Austrian Galicia. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1982.

Excellent collection of high quality articles on Ukrainians, Poles, and Jews. Ethnic interaction, social organizations, provincial culture and economy and the role of the priesthood are discussed. See especially the articles by Himka, Rudnytsky and Bohachevska-Khomiak.

Murdzek, Benjamin P. Emigration in Polish Social-Political Thought, 1870-1914. Boulder, Colorado: East European Monographs, 1977.

A broad analysis of Russian, Prussian and Austrian policies related to Polish migration, rather than an assessment of Polish socio-political thought on emigration.

Najdus, Walentyna. Szkice z historii Galicji. (Essays on the History of Galicia). 2 vols. Warsaw: Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1958-60.

The finest study of agrarian relations and popular protest in Galicia at the turn of the century.

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------- "Mykhailo Drahomanov and the Problem of Ukrainian-Jewish Relations." *Canadian Slavonic Papers* XI (2) (1969), 182-98.

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------- "The Ukrainian National Movement on the Eve of the First World War." *East European Quarterly* XI (2) (1977), 141-54.

------- "Polish-Ukrainian Relations: The Burden of History." In *Poland and Ukraine: Past and Present*, edited by Peter J. Poticnyj, pp 3-31. Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1980.

Rudnytsky's work focuses on the individuals, ideas and political and cultural institutions which transformed the Ukrainian people from an ethnographic mass into a nation during the decades immediately prior to the First World War. Essential reading.

Shlepakov, A.M. *Ukrainska trudova emigratsiia v SShA i Kanadi*. (The Ukrainian Labour Emigration in the USA and Canada). Kiev: AN URSR, 1960.

Perhaps the only substantial study of Ukrainian mass emigration to North America at the turn of the century by a Soviet Ukrainian historian. The author's analysis of immigrant politics in the New World is not without bias.

Sirka, Ann. *The Nationality Question in Austrian Education: The Case of Ukrainians in Galicia, 1867-1917*. Frankfurt A.M.: European University Studies, 1980.

Surveys Ukrainian education and educational politics, especially elementary and secondary education, the question of a Ukrainian university, and Ukrainian efforts at private education. Discusses curricula, textbooks, teacher training, social origins of teachers/students, and conditions within the schools.

Sviezhynsky, P.V. *Ahrarni vidnosyny na zakhidnii Ukraini v kintsi XIX -- na pochatku XX stolittia*. (Agrarian Relations in Western Ukraine at the End of the 19th and at the Beginning of the 20th Century). Lviv: Lvivskyi universytet, 1966.

Tarnavsky, Fylymon. *Spohady*. (Memoirs). Edited by A.M. Bazylevych and R.I. Danylevych. Toronto: Dobra knyzhka, 1981.

The memoirs of a Ukrainian Greek Catholic priest who was ordained in Galicia in 1889 and emigrated in 1911. Useful for insights into the social history of the Galician clergy and the transformation of the Galician village.

ii) Material and Popular Culture

Beskyd, Iu. *Materialna kultura Lemkivshchyny*. (The Material Culture of the Lemko Region). Toronto: Orhanizatsiia oborony Lemkivshchyny, 1972.

Bilenky, T. "Nehramotnist a narodna shkola." (Illiteracy and the elementary school). *Pershyi ukrainskyi prosvitno-ekonomichnyi kongres*. (The First Ukrainian Educational-Economic Congress). Lviv, 1910.

Cybriwsky, Roman A. "The Pre-Soviet Village in Ukraine." *Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers* XXXIV (1972), 119-36.

Franko, Ivan. "Liudovi viruvannia na pidhiriu." (Folk Beliefs in the [Carpathian] Foothills). *Etnografichnyi zbirnyk* (Ethnographic Journal) V (1898), 160-218.

Excellent catalogue of folk beliefs arranged thematically. Includes popular beliefs concerning cosmology, meteorology, inanimate nature, plants, animals, medicine, dreams, mythology, life, death, inanimate objects, society, ethnic groups, feast days and magic. Collected during the 1880s in the Drohobych, Stryi and Kolomyia districts of eastern Galicia. A unique look at Ukrainian peasant *mentalite* on the eve of emigration.

Gorlenko, V.P. et al. *Narodna zemlerobska tekhnyka ukraintsiv.* (The Agricultural Technology of Ukrainian Peasants). Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1971.

Hvozdetsky, Teofil. "Smertnist ditei v nashim kraiu." (Infant Mortality in Our Land). *Pershyi ukrainskyi prosvitno-ekonomichnyi kongres.* Lviv, 1910.

Iaroshynska, Ievheniia. "Iak vedesia nashym seliankam na Bukovyni kolo Vikna." (The Fate of Our Bukovynian Peasant Women Near the Village of Vikno). *Narod* (The People). Kolomyia. vol. I (15 May 1890).

Koenig, Samuel. "The Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia: A Study of their Culture and Institutions." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Yale University, 1935.

------- "Magical Beliefs and Practices Among the Galician Ukrainians." *Folklore* XLVIII (1936-37), 59-91.

------- "Marriage and the Family Among the Galician Ukrainians." In *Studies in the Science of Society*, edited by G.P. Murdock, pp. 299-318. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937.

------- "Beliefs Regarding the Soul and the Future World Among the Galician Ukrainians." *Folklore* XLIX (1937-38), 157-61.

------- "Supernatural Beliefs Among the Galician Ukrainians." *Folklore* XLIX (1937-38), 270-76.

------- "Beliefs and Practices Relating to Birth and Childhood Among the Galician Ukrainians." *Folklore* L (1939-40), 272-87.

Based on field work and the published studies of leading Polish and German ethnographers, Koenig's dissertation and articles constitute a unique source in the English language on Ukrainian peasant culture in Galicia and Bukovyna at the turn of the century. Essential reading.

Kolessa, Filaret. "Liudovi viruvannia na pidhiriu." (Folk Beliefs in the [Carpathian] Foothills). *Etnografichnyi zbirnyk* (Ethnographic Journal) V (1898), 76-98

Based on research in the village of Khodovychi, Stryi district, eastern Galicia. Covers the same topics as Franko's article.

Kosmina, T.V. *Silske zhytlo Podillia -- kinets XIX, pochatok XX stolittia.* (The Village Dwelling in the Podillia Region -- late 19th, early 20th Century). Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1980.

A work by one of the leading authorities on Ukrainian vernacular architecture.

Kravets, M.M. "Selianskyi rukh u skhidnii Halychyni v 50-80kh rokakh XIX st." (The Peasant Movement in Eastern Galicia, 1850s--1880s). *Z istorii URSR* VI-VII (From the History of the Ukr.SSR VI-VII), 57-81. Kiev: AN URSR, 1962.

------- "Masovi selianski vystupy u skhidnii Halychyni v 90kh rokakh XIX st." (Mass Peasant Disturbances in Eastern Galicia during the 1890s). *Z istorii URSR* VIII, pp. 3-27. Kiev: AN URSR, 1963.

Very interesting articles. Contain information on many villages that contributed immigrants who settled in east central Alberta.

Martyniuk, Ivan. *Moie ridne selo Tseniv u Berezhanshchyni.* (My Native Village, Tseniv, in the County of Berezhany). New York: G.A. Press, 1976.

Okhrymovych, Volodymyr. "Pro rodovu spilnist v Skilskykh horakh." (On Clan Ties in the Mountains near the Village of Skole). *Narod* I (1 April 1890).

------- "Zhinocha dolia v Skilskykh horakh." (The Fate of Women in the Mountains near the Village of Skole). *Narod* I (15 September 1890).

------- "Zholudkovi idei." (Gastronomical Ideas). *Narod* III (1 May 1892).

------- "Pro smertnist v Halychyni i ii prychyny." (On Mortality in Galicia and its Causes). *Narod* III and IV (8 November 1892 -- 1 August 1893).

------- "Znadoby dlia piznannia narodnykh zvychaiv ta pohliadiv pravnykh." (Materials for the Study of Popular Customs and Views of the Law). *Zhyttie i slovo* (Life and Word) III (1895), 296-307, 387-401.

Very informative.

Mateiko, E.I. *Ukrainskyi narodnyi odiah.* (Ukrainian Folk Clothing). Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1977.

Poritsky, A.Ia. *Pobut silskohospodarskykh robitnykiv Ukrainy v period kapitalizmu.* (The Lifestyle of Agrarian Labourers in Ukraine During the Era of Capitalism). Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1964.

Prysiazhniuk, V.Z. "Hospodarski budivli ta ikh nazvy." (Farmstead Outbuildings and their Names). *Narodna tvorchist ta etnografiia* (Folk Arts and Ethnography) VI (1981), 93-95.

Samoilovych, V. *Narodna tvorchist v arkhitekturi silskoho zhytla.* (Folk Art in the Architecture of the Village Dwelling). Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1972.

------- *Ukrainske narodne zhytlo -- kinets XIX-pochatok XX st.* (The Ukrainian Folk Dwelling -- late 19th-early 20th Century). Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1972.

------- "Architectural and Artistic Peculiarities of the Ukrainian National Dwelling." *Ethnologia Slavica* V (1973), 63-75.

Shukhevych, Volodymyr. *Hutsulshchyna.* (The Hutsul Region). 4 vols. Lviv, 1902.

A classic.

Sopoliga, M. "Tradytsiine narodne zhytlo v oblasti Verkhnoi Tsyrokhy na Snynshchyni." (Traditional Folk Dwellings of the Upper Tsyrokha District in the Snyna Region). *Naukovyi zbirnyk* (Scientific Collection) IX (2) (1979), 58-89.

Stelmakh, H. Iu. "Silski poselennia Radianskoi Ukrainy." (Village Settlements of Soviet Ukraine). *Narodna tvorchist ta etnografiia* II (1964), 93-106.

Vovk, Khvedir. "Etnohrafichni osoblyvosti ukrainskoho narodu." (Ethnographic Characteristics of the Ukrainian People). In *Studii z ukrainskoi etnohrafii ta antropolohii* (Studies in Ukrainian Ethnography and Anthropology), 35-215. 2nd edition. New York: Howerla, 1976.

Zubrytsky, Mykhailo. "Selo Kindrativ (turetskoho povitu)." (The Village of Kindrativ (in the Turka District)). *Zhyttie i slovo* IV (1896), 104-12, 216-30.

Informative and interesting.

C. War and Revolution

Bociurkiw, Bohdan. "The Autocephalous Church Movement in Ukraine: The Formative Stage, 1917-1921." *Ukrainian Quarterly* XVI (3) (1960), 211-23.

Borys, Jurij. *The Sovietization of Ukraine, 1917-1923: The Communist Doctrine and Practice of National Self-Determination*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1980.

Fedyshyn, Oleh S. *Germany's Drive to the East and the Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1918*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1971.

An attempt to evaluate the interplay of German *Ostpolitik* and Ukrainian striving for national self-determination.

Guthier, Steven L. "The Popular Base of Ukrainian Nationalism in 1917." *Slavic Review* XXXVIII (1) (1979), 30-44.

An interesting attempt to gauge the political attitudes of the Ukrainian peasantry during the first year of the revolution.

Hunczak, Taras, ed. *The Ukraine, 1917-1921: A Study in Revolution*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1977.

Rigorously objective articles by leading emigre Ukrainian and American scholars. Articles focus on prominent leaders and political parties. The revolution at the grass roots level receives little attention.

Lamis, Andrew P. "Some Observations on the Ukrainian National Movement and the Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1921." *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* II (4) (1978), 225-31.

A critical review of Hunczak, ed., *The Ukraine, 1917-1921*.

Palij, Michael. *The Anarchism of Nestor Makhno, 1918- 1921: An Aspect of the Ukrainian Revolution*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976.

Discusses Makhno within the rather narrow context of politics in Ukraine. Fails to stress Makhno's dislike of those of his compatriots who made compromises to establish a viable state machine.

Pipes, Richard. *The Formation of the Soviet Union: Communism and Nationalism, 1917-1923*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964.

A classic account of the political and military maneuvering that went into the formation of the USSR.

Reshetar, John S. *The Ukrainian Revolution: A Study in Nationalism.* Princeton University Press, 1952.

The first scholarly survey of the political dimension of the Ukrainian revolution produced in the English language. Still very useful.

D. Ukraine During the 1920s

Armstrong, John A. *Ukrainian Nationalism, 1939-1945*. 2nd edition. New York: Columbia University Press, 1963.

A classic. See especially the first chapter on the origins of Ukrainian Nationalism.

Borys, Jurij. "Who Ruled the Soviet Ukraine in Stalin's Time (1917-1939)?" *Canadian Slavonic Papers* XIV (2) (1972), 213-34.

Budurowycz, Bohdan. "Poland and the Ukrainian Problem, 1921-1939." *Canadian Slavonic Papers* XXV (4) (1983), 473-500.

Dmytryshyn, Basil. "National and Social Composition of the Membership of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the Ukraine, 1918-1928." *Journal of Central European Affairs* XVII (3) (1957), 243-58.

Drozdowski, Marian M. "The National Minorities in Poland in 1918-1939." *Acta Poloniae Historica* XXII (1970), 226-51.

Groth, A.J. "The Legacy of Three Crises: Parliament and Ethnic Issues in Prewar Poland." *Slavic Review* XXVII (4) (1968), 564-80.

------- "Dmowski, Pilsudski and Ethnic Conflict in Pre-1939 Poland." *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* III (1) (1969), 69-91.

Hunczak, Taras. "Sir Lewis Namier and the Struggle for Eastern Galicia, 1918-1920." *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* I (2) (1977), 198-210.

Liber, George. "Language, Literacy, and Book Publishing in the Ukrainian SSR, 1923-1928." *Slavic Review* XLI (4) (1982), 673-85.

Luckyj, George S.N. *Literary Politics in Soviet Ukraine, 1917-1934*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1956.

An excellent account of the Ukrainian literary renaissance of the 1920s and efforts to crush it.

Mace, James E. Communism and the Dilemmas of National Liberation: National Communism in Soviet Ukraine, 1918-1933. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1983.

Focuses on Ukrainianization and its crisis by examining the views and activity of Shumskyi, Khvylovyi, Volobuiev, Skrypnyk and Iavorskyi.

Motyl, Alexander J. "The Rural Origins of the Communist and National Movements in Wolyn Wojewodztwo, 1921-1939." Slavic Review XXXVII (3) (1978), 412-20.

------- The Turn to the Right: The Ideological Origins and Development of Ukrainian Nationalism, 1919-1929. Boulder, Colorado: East European Monographs, 1980.

Focuses on emigre political groupings in East Central and Western Europe, and on the interrelationship between emigre activists and their followers in Polish controlled Galicia.

Radziejowski, Janusz. "Collectivization in Ukraine in Light of Soviet Historiography." Journal of Ukrainian Studies 9 (Fall 1980), 3-17.

------- The Communist Party of Western Ukraine, 1919-1929. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1983.

Focuses on ideological issues such as the nationalities question and analyzes organizational relations between the CPWU, the CPP and the CP(b)U as well as splits within the CPWU.

Reshetar, John S. "Ukrainian Nationalism and the Orthodox Church." Slavic Review XII (2) (1953), 162-74.

Solchanyk, Roman. "The Foundation of the Communist Movement in Eastern Galicia, 1919-1921." Slavic Review XXX (4) (1971), 774-94.

------- "The Communist Party of Western Ukraine, 1919-1938." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1973.

------- "Revolutionary Marxism in Galicia Before 1918." East European Quarterly X (1) (1976), 35-41.

------- "The Comintern and the Communist Party of Western Ukraine, 1919-1928." Canadian Slavonic Papers XXIII (2) (1981), 181-97.

Tomaszewski, Jerzy. "The National Structure of the Working Class in the South-Eastern Part of Poland (1918-1939)." Acta Poloniae Historica XIX (1968), 89-111.

3. Western Canada (late 19th -- early 20th century)

A. General

Blue, John. Alberta -- Past and Present. Chicago: Pioneer Historical Publishing Co., 1924.

Brown, R.C. and Ramsay Cook. Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed. Toronto: MacMillan, 1976.

Excellent synthesis, informative, controlled and readable. Covers immigration, settlement of the West, World War I, prohibition, and Canadian relations with the USA and Britain in addition to domestic politics.

Friesen, Gerald. The Canadian Prairies: A History. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.

Based on the latest research in native, labour and urban history as well as the author's own work in social and intellectual history. Analyzes class, ethnic and political tensions in Western Canada between 1890 and 1930.

Granatstein, J.L., et al. Twentieth Century Canada. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1983.

An up to date textbook by leading historians that takes recent research in social, immigration and political history into account.

MacGregor, J.G. Edmonton: A History. Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1975.

------- A History of Alberta. 2nd edition. Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1981.

In the absence of a serious scholarly history of Alberta, this remains the only survey available. Descriptive rather than analytical. Provincial in perspective. No notes or references.

Palmer, Howard and Tamara Palmer. "The Alberta Experience." Journal of Canadian Studies XVII (3) (1982), 20-34.

Argues that Alberta has not had sufficient time to adjust to the political, demographic, economic and social changes that have characterized its history. The result is insecurity and political alienation.

Thomas, L.G. "Alberta 1905-1980: The Uneasy Society." In The New Provinces: Alberta and Saskatchewan, 1905-1980, edited by Howard Palmer and Donald Smith, pp. 23-41. Vancouver: Tantalus Research Limited, 1980.

Thomas, L.H. "Alberta Perspectives 1905." Alberta History XXVII (1) (1980), 1-6.

Thompson, John Herd. Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, forthcoming.

B. Westward Expansion

Berger, Carl. The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.

An examplary work of intellectual history. Essential for an understanding of Anglo-Canadian attitudes to non-British immigrants.

Dunae, Patrick A. "'Making Good': The Canadian West in British Boys' Literature, 1890-1914." Prairie Forum IV (2) (1979), 165-82.

Gray, James H. Boomtime: Peopling the Canadian Prairies. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1979.

A coffee table book with over 150 photographs.

Horrall, S.W. "Sir John A. Macdonald and the Mounted Police Force for the Northwest Territories." Canadian Historical Review LIII (2) (1972), 201-225.

Argues that Macdonald was "attracted by the economy of a multi-purpose police force that could carry out a variety of civil duties."

Macleod, R.C. "Canadianizing the West: The North-West Mounted Police as Agents of the National Policy, 1873-1905." In Essays on Western History, edited by L.H. Thomas, pp. 101-10. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1976.

------- The North-West Mounted Police and Law Enforcement, 1873-1905. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.

A scholarly but sympathetic analysis that stresses the difference between the Canadian and American West.

Morton, Desmond. "Cavalry or Police: Keeping the Peace on Two Adjacent Frontiers, 1870-1900." Journal of Canadian Studies XII (2) (1977), 27-37.

Compares the NWMP and the US Army and notes declining living conditions of Indians as settlement advanced.

Owram, Douglas. Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856-1900. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.

Argues that changing perceptions of the West determined the evolution of the expansionist movement as surely as did the harsh economic and climatic realities faced by prospective settlers. Traces shifts in the way the West's role in Canada was perceived.

------- "The Myth of Louis Riel." Canadian Historical Review LXIII (3) (1982), 315-36.

Reviews the historical debate on Riel.

Page, Robert J.D. "Canada and the Imperial Idea in the Boer War Years." Journal of Canadian Studies V (1) (1970), 3-49.

Analyzes the idea of "Empire" at its peak at the turn of the century.

Rea, J.E. "The Roots of Prairie Society." In Prairie Perspectives I, edited by D.G. Gagan, pp. 46-57. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970.

Examines the birth of Prairie society within the framework of Louis Hartz's model of "new societies".

Rutherford, P.F.W. "The Western Press and Regionalism, 1870-1896." Canadian Historical Review LII (3) (1971), 287-305.

------- "The People's Press: The Emergence of the New Journalism." Canadian Historical Review LVI (2) (1975), 169-91.

Sees the West as an offshoot of Ontario society. Studies the pioneers of Canada's mass circulation dailies, their opportunistic radicalism, and argues that they contributed to the democratization of Victorian Canada.

Smith, Allan. "The Myth of the Self-made Man in English Canada, 1850-1914." Canadian Historical Review LIX (2) (1979), 189-219.

Explains how the myth influenced Canadian social thought.

Stitch, K.P. "'Canada's Century': The Rhetoric of Propaganda." *Prairie Forum* I (1) (1976), 19-30.

Literary examination of five samples of immigration propaganda.

Thomas, L.G., ed. *The Prairie West to 1905: A Canadian Sourcebook.* Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975.

A selection of documents arranged thematically with introductions by leading authorities.

Thomas, L.H. "British Visitors' Perceptions of the West, 1885-1914." In *Prairie Perspectives II*, edited by A.W. Rasporich and H.C. Klassen, pp. 181-96. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973.

Tobias, John L. "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy." *The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* VI (2) (1976), 13-30.

Argues that government Indian legislation has thwarted rather than furthered its ultimate goal of assimilation.

------- "Canada's Subjugation of the Plain's Cree, 1879-1885." *Canadian Historical Review* LXIV (4) (1983), 519-48.

C. French-Canadians, Quebec and the West

Carriere, G., o.m.i. "The Early Efforts of the Oblate Missionaries in Western Canada." *Prairie Forum* IV (1) (1979), 1-25.

Focuses on period from 1845 to 1875 when Bishop Tache and Father Lacombe were active.

Choquette, Robert. "Problemes des moeurs et de discipline ecclesiastique: Les catholiques des prairies canadiennes de 1900 a 1930." *Histoire Sociale/Social History* VIII (1975), 102-19.

Argues that Francophone Roman Catholic bishops, especially Langevin and Legal, were more intransigent than Anglophone bishops in enforcing their authority, interpreting doctrine, defining relations with Protestants, etc.

------- "Adelard Langevin et les questions scolaires du Manitoba et du nord-ouest, 1895-1915." *Revue de l'Universite d'Ottawa* XLVI (1976), 322-44.

Langevin refused to accept the Laurier-Greenway Compromise even though other Roman Catholic bishops, and even the Vatican, did.

Comeault, Gilbert-Louis. "Les rapports de Mgr. L.-P.-A. Langevin avec les groupes ethniques minoritaires et leurs repercussions sur le statut de la langue francaise au Manitoba, 1895-1916." La societe canadienne d'histoire de l'eglise catholique *Sessions d'etude* XLII (1975), 65-85.

Argues that Langevin's efforts to provide bilingual education for minority immigrant groups in Manitoba indirectly led to the abolition of French bilingual education in 1916. Fails to examine Langevin's efforts from the immigrants' point of view.

Cote, Sister M.M. "St. Albert, Cradle of the Catholic Church in Alberta." Canadian Catholic Historical Association *Study Sessions* XXXII (1965), 29-35.

Drouin, Emeric O., o.m.i. "St. Paul des Metis." *Alberta Historical Review* XI (4) (1963), 12-14.

The story of an attempt to establish a farming colony for the Metis of east central Alberta.

Dupasquier, Maurice. "Quelques aspects de l'oeuvre de Paul Benoit au Nouveau Monde, 1891-1915." La Societe canadienne d'histoire de l'eglise catholique *Sessions d'etude* XXXVII (1970), 111-44.

A study of Bishop Langevin's ultramontaine advisor.

Hart, E.J. "The Emergence and Role of the Elite in the Franco-Albertan Community to 1914." In *Essays on Western History*, edited by L. H. Thomas, pp. 159-72. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1976.

Huel, Raymond. "French-Speaking Bishops and the Cultural Mosaic in Western Canada." In *Religion and Society in the Prairie West*, edited by Richard Allen, pp. 53-64. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1974.

A rosy, optimistic evaluation.

------- "The Irish-French Conflict in Catholic Episcopal Nominations: The Western Sees and the Struggle for Domination Within the Church." Canadian Catholic Historical Association *Study Sessions* XLII (1975), 51-64.

------- "*Gestae Dei Per Francos*: The French Catholic Experience in Western Canada." In *Visions of the New Jerusalem: Religious Settlement on the Prairies*, edited by B.G. Smillie, pp. 30-54. Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1983.

Lalonde, A.N. "L'intelligentsia du Quebec et la migration des Canadiens francais vers l'Ouest canadien, 1870-1930." *Revue d'histoire de l'Amerique francaise* LXXXIII (2) (1979), 163-85.

Lupul, Manoly R. *The Roman Catholic Church and the North-West School Question: A Study in Church-State Relations in Western Canada, 1875-1905*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.

Concludes that the motives behind the attacks on denominational schools were the frontier desire for economy, the drive for "professionalism" and the wish of transplanted Ontarians to reproduce familiar educational institutions on the Prairies.

Painchaud, Robert. "Les exigences linguistiques dans le recruitement d'un clerge pour l'Ouest canadien, 1818-1920." La Societe canadienne d'histoire de l'eglise catholique *Sessions d'etude* XLII (1975), 43-64.

Examines measures taken by Bishops Provencher, Tache, Langevin and Legal to get clergy capable of working with various Catholic nationalities in the West.

------- "Les origines des peuplements de langue francaise dans l'Ouest canadien, 1870-1920: Mythes et realites." *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* XIII (1975), 109-21.

Focuses on efforts of the clergy to settle Manitoba with French-speaking immigrants from Quebec, the USA, France, Belgium, and Switzerland.

Rusak, Stephen. "Relations in Education Between Bishop Legal and the Alberta Liberal Government, 1905-1919." Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Alberta, 1966.

------- "Archbishop Adelard Langevin and the Manitoba School Question, 1895-1915." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Alberta, 1975.

Prepared under the supervision of Manoly R. Lupul.

Siegfried, Andre. *The Race Question in Canada*. 2nd edition. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1966.

An excellent and witty study first published in 1906 by an eminent French Protestant sociologist. Essential reading.

Silver, Arthur I. "French Canada and the Prairie Frontier, 1870-1890." Canadian Historical Review L (1) (1969), 11-36.

Argues that French Canadian society did not produce the type of personality that could become a "frontiersman." During this period Quebeckers feared that the land in the West was sterile, feared persecution by Anglo-Canadians, and were convinced that Quebec alone was the homeland of French Canadians.

------- "Quebec and the French-speaking Minorities, 1864-1917." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1975.

------- "Introduction." In Jules Paul Tardival, For My Country, pp vi-xl. Translated by Sheila Fischman. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975.

Excellent sketch of the anxieties experienced by French-speaking Roman Catholics after 1870.

----- The French-Canadian Idea of Confederation, 1864-1900. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.

Demonstrates how the New Brunswick school case and the Red River insurrection of the 1870s, and the execution of Riel and the Manitoba school question of the 1880s/1890s, gradually led Quebeckers to transcend their narrow concern with provincial rights and express active concern for French minority rights outside Quebec.

Stanley, George F.C. "French Settlement West of Lake Superior." Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada XLVIII (Section II), 107-15.

D. Immigration and Colonization

Arnold, Abraham J. "The Contributions of the Jews to the Opening and Development of the West." Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba XXV (3) (1968/69), 23-37.

Avery, Donald H. "Canadian Immigration Policy and the "Foreign" Navv, 1896-1914." Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers (1972), 135-56.

------- "Canadian Immigration Policy and the Alien Question, 1896-1919: The Anglo-Canadian Perspective." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 1973.

------- "Continental European Immigrant Workers in Canada 1896-1919: From 'Stalwart Peasants' to Radical Proletariat." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* XII (1975), 53-64.

------- "The Immigrant Industrial Worker in Canada, 1896-1919: The Vertical Mosaic as an Historical Reality." In *Identities*, edited by Wsewolod W. Isajiw, pp. 15-33. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1977.

------- *"Dangerous Foreigners": European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979.

Avery's articles reject the view that most European immigrants settled on the land. He demonstrates that many were obliged to become unskilled industrial workers and emphasizes the serious class and ethnic tensions that developed between these workers and Anglo-Canadian businessmen. By 1919, ethnic, cultural and ideological acceptability of the immigrants began to outweigh their economic utility. Although economic utility became pre-eminent between 1924 and 1930, by the 1930's immigrants from eastern Europe were again perceived to be undesirable. Avery's monograph is an excellent summary of the Canadian state's role in opening and closing the floodgates of immigration, and its relation to the needs of railroad, lumber and coal barons for cheap labour. Although he dispells the myth that all immigrant labourers were docile, he fails to integrate immigrant radicals into the broader history of their immigrant groups. Radicalization was not simply a reaction to the vile working conditions, but part and parcel of the immigrants' cultural baggage. A number of factual errors diminish the value of his discussion of the immigrant radicals.

Becker, A. "The Germans in Western Canada." Canadian Catholic Historical Association *Study Sessions* XLII (1975), 29-49.

Survey of German settlements in Western Canada, 1891-1931.

Betke, Carl. "Pioneers and Police on the Canadian Prairies, 1885-1914." Canadian Historical Association *Historical Papers* (1980), 9-32.

Argues that the RCMP has been and remains popular because of its visibility, tolerance of ethnic groups (in a rural setting) and because of its services to those in need.

Bicha, Karel D. "The Plains Farmer and the Prairie Province Frontier, 1897-1914." *Journal of Economic History* XXV (2) (1965), 263-70.

Dawson, C.A. *Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada.* Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, edited by W.A. Mackintosh and W.L.G. Joerg, vol. 7. Toronto: MacMillan, 1936.

Interesting information on a number of ethnic groups, excluding Ukrainians.

Ellis, M.C. "Local Migration in East Central Alberta." Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Alberta, 1972.

England, Robert. *The Central European Immigrant in Canada*. Toronto: MacMillan, 1929.

Social conditions in newly settled immigrant districts of Saskatchewan, including areas inhabited by Ukrainians.

------- "Glimpses of Europe in Western Canada." *Canadian Geographical Journal* V (1932), 3-20.

------- *The Colonization of Western Canada, 1896-1934*. London: P.S. King and Son, 1936.

By the continental superintendant of the Colonization Department of the CNR.

------- "Ethnic Settlers in Western Canada: Reminiscences of a Pioneer." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* VIII (2) (1976), 18-33.

England was a school teacher in a Ukrainian district of Saskatchewan during the early 1920s.

Francis, E.K. "The Adjustment of a Peasant Group to a Capitalistic Economy: The Manitoba Mennonites." *Rural Sociology* XVII (1952), 218-28.

Hall, D.J. "Clifford Sifton: Immigration and Settlement Policy, 1896-1905." In *The Settlement of the West*, edited by Howard Palmer, pp.60-85. Calgary: Comprint Publishing, 1977.

Shows that the Liberal Sifton adopted the Conservative argument that the government must play a vital and dynamic part in western colonization.

------- *Clifford Sifton, vol. I: The Young Napoleon, 1861-1900.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1981.

Sure to become the standard biography of Sifton.

Janssen, Viveka K. "Swedish Settlement in Alberta, 1890-1930." *Swedish-American Historical Quarterly* XXXIII (2) (1982), 111-23.

Survey of Swedish settlers who left the US to settle in Wetaskiwin, Malmo, Falun, Westerose and Calmar.

Kovacs, Martin L. "Hungarian Communities in Early Alberta and Saskatchewan." In *The New Provinces: Alberta and Saskatchewan 1905-1980*, edited by Howard Palmer and Donald Smith, pp. 101-30. Vancouver: Tantalus Research, 1980.

McCormack, Ross. "Cloth Caps and Jobs: The Ethnicity of English Immigrants in Canada 1900-1914." In *Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada*, edited by J. Dahlie and T. Fernando. pp.38-55. Toronto: Methuen, 1981.

Macdonell, R.A. "British Immigration Schemes in Alberta." *Alberta History* XVI (2) (1968), 4-13.

Mackintosh, W.A. *Prairie Settlement: The Geographical Setting*. Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, vol 1. Toronto: MacMillan, 1934.

Important background.

Martin, Chester. *"Dominion Lands" Policy*. Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, part II, vol. 2. Toronto: MacMillan, 1938. 2nd edition. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973.

Still very useful.

Matejko, Joanna and Alexander Matejko. "Polish Pioneers in the Canadian Prairies." *Ethnicity* V (4) (1978), 351-69.

Initially good relations with Ukrainians began to deteriorate after WWI with the rise of nationalist sentiment.

Morton, Arthur A. *History of Prairie Settlement*. Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, part I, vol. 2. Toronto: MacMillan, 1938.

Important.

Norrie, K.H. "The Rate of Settlement on the Canadian Prairies, 1870-1911." *Journal of Economic History* XXXV (1975), 410-27.

Riskiness of dry-farming and the availability of humid lands in the US till the late 1880s discouraged use of Canadian lands prior to the rise of grain prices after 1895.

------- "The National Policy and the Rate of Prairie Settlement: A Review." Journal of Canadian Studies XIV (3) (1979), 65-72.

Palmer, Howard. Land of the Second Chance. Lethbridge: Lethbridge Herald, 1972.

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------- ed. Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism. Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing Co., 1975.

A selection of documents.

------- and Tamara Palmer. "The Hungarian Experience in Alberta." Hungarian Studies Review VIII (2) (1981), 149-208.

------- "The Religious Ethic and the Spirit of Immigration: The Dutch in Alberta." Prairie Forum VII (2) (1982), 237-65.

------- "Estonians in Alberta." Alberta History XXXI (3) (1983), 22-34.

Schultz, Earl L. "Education in the Bruderheim Area." Alberta Historical Review XX (4) (1970), 21-27.

Discusses the migration of German Moravians from the Russian Empire to Alberta in 1894.

Thomson, Colin A. "Dark Spots in Alberta." Alberta History XXV (4) (1977), 31-36.

Discusses efforts to stop Oklahoma blacks from settling in Alberta in 1911-12.

Wilson, R. "Migration Movements in Canada, 1868-1925." Canadian Historical Review XIII (1932), 160-82.

Tracie, C.J. "Ethnicity and the Prairie Environment: Patterns of Old Colony Mennonite and Doukhobor Settlement." In Man and Nature on the Prairies, edited by Richard Allen, pp. 46-65. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1976.

Warkentin, John H. "Western Canada in 1886." Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, series 3, XX (1965), 85-116.

Wonders, William C. "Scandinavian Homesteaders." Alberta History XXIV (3) (1976), 1-4.

------- "Scandinavian Homesteaders in Central Alberta." In *The New Provinces*, edited by Palmer and Smith, pp. 131-71. Vancouver: Tantalus, 1980.

Younge, Eva R. "Population Movements and the Assimilation of Alien Groups in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* X (1944), 372-80.

E. Agriculture

Ankli, R.E. and R.M. Lett. "The Growth of Prairie Agriculture: Economic Considerations." In *Canadian Papers in Rural History*, vol. I, edited by Donald H. Akenson, pp. 35-64. Gananoque, Ontario: Langdale Press, 1978.

Contains an especially informative section on the costs of farm-making at the turn of the century.

------- , H. D. Helsberg and J.H. Thompson. "The Adoption of the Gasoline Tractor in western Canada." In *Canadian Papers in Rural History*, vol. II, edited by Donald H. Akenson, pp. 9-39. Gananoque, Ontario: Langdale Press, 1980.

Gasoline tractors replaced draft animals on the Canadian Prairies beginning in the late 1920s and culminating in the 1950s.

------- "Farm Income on the Great Plains and Canadian Prairies, 1920-1940." *Agricultural History* LI (1) (1977), 92-103.

Farm income fell after 1918, recovered during the 1920s, and fell seriously after 1930 as a result of declining yields resulting from drought rather than declining prices alone.

Britnell, G.E. and V.C. Fowke. *Canadian Agriculture in War and Peace*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962.

Cherwinski, W.J.C. "Wooden Horses and Rubber Cows: Training British Agricultural Labour for the Canadian Prairies, 1890-1930." Canadian Historical Association *Historical Papers* (1980), 133-54.

Argues that training schemes in Britain and Canada often did not reflect realities of prairie agriculture.

Church, G.C. "Dominion Government Aid to the Dairy Industry in Western Canada, 1890-1906." *Saskatchewan History* XVI (2) (1963), 41-58.

Argues that the Dominion government took more interest in Alberta dairying than in that of Saskatchewan.

Dawson, C.A. and Eva R. Younge. *Pioneering in the Prairie Provinces: The Social Side of the Settlement Process.* Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, vol. 8. Toronto: MacMillan, 1940.

Fee, Art. "Steam Tractors: Monsters that Changed the West." *American West* X (3) (1973), 24-31.

Fowke, V.C. *The National Policy and the Wheat Economy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957.

Excellent survey of Canadian agricultural policy. Argues that the National Policy failed to take care of agricultural interests other than land settlement and transport.

Galbraith, John S. "Land Policies of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1870-1913." *Canadian Historical Review* XXXII (1) (1951), 1-21.

Grest, E.G. "A Study of Horse and Tractor Power Used on Farms in Saskatchewan and Alberta." Unpublished MSc Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1932.

Ironside, R.G. and E. Tomasky. "Agriculture and River Lot Settlement in Western Canada: The Case of Pakan (Victoria) Alberta." *Prairie Forum* 1 (1) (1976), 3-18.

MacGibbon, D.A. *The Canadian Grain Trade*. Toronto: MacMillan, 1932.

Contains useful information on grain elevator companies.

McGinnis, D. "Farm Labour in Transition: Occupational Structure and Economic Dependency in Alberta, 1921-1951." In *The Settlement of the West*, edited by Howard Palmer, pp. 174-86. Calgary: Comprint, 1977.

Argues that a large part of the agricultural labour force in Alberta was not in the position of independent farmers throughout the period.

Mackintosh, W.A. "Some Aspects of a Pioneer Economy." *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* II (1936), 457-63.

------- et al. *Economic Problems of the Praire Provinces.* Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, vol. 4. Toronto: MacMillan, 1935.

Murchie, R.W., et al. *Agricultural Progress on the Prairie Frontier.* Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, vol. 5. Toronto: MacMillan, 1936.

Valuable.

Norrie, Kenneth. "Dry Farming and the Economics of Risk Bearing: The Canadian Prairies, 1870-1930." *Agricultural History* LI (1) (1977), 134-48.

Argues that grain production was less than it might have been because farmers were averse to risk.

------- "The National Policy and Prairie Economic Discrimination, 1870-1930." In *Canadian Papers in Rural History*, vol. 1, edited by Donald H. Akenson, pp. 5-34. Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1978.

Patton, Harold Smith. *Grain Growers' Cooperation in Western Canada.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1928.

Prevey, Chester F. "The Development of the Dairy Industry of Alberta." Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Toronto, 1950.

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Regehr, T.D. "Bankers and Farmers in Western Canada, 1900-1939." In *The Developing West*, edited by J.E. Foster, pp. 303-36. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1983.

Shepard, R. Bruce. "The Mechanized Agricultural Frontier of the Canadian Plains." *Material History Bulletin* VII (1979), 1-22.

Focuses on the period 1901-21.

Strange, H.G.L. *A Short History of Prairie Agriculture*. Winnipeg: Searle Grain Co. Ltd., 1954.

Swindlehurst, E.B. *Alberta Agriculture: A Short History*. Edmonton: Department of Agriculture, 1967.

Thomas, L.H. "A History of Agriculture on the Prairies to 1914." *Prairie Forum* I (1) (1976), 31-46.

Thompson, John H. "'Permanently Wasteful but Immediately Profitable': Prairie Agriculture and the Great War." Canadian Historical Association *Historical Papers* (1976), 193-206.

Argues that war resulted in greater concentration upon cereal growing and in declining efficiency because of encouragement by the Dominion Department of Agriculture.

------- "Bringing in the Sheaves: The Harvest Excursionists, 1890-1929." *Canadian Historical Review* LIX (4) (1978), 467-89.

Though well paid, excursionists lived in squalor and uncertainty and few were able to set up as farmers. Depression and mechanization spelled doom for the phenomenon. Contains good description of the work performed at harvest time.

------- and Allen Seager. "Workers, Growers and Monopolists: The 'Labour Problem' in the Alberta Beet Sugar Industry During the 1930s." *Labour/Le Travailleur* 3 (1978), 153-74.

Examines struggle between Rogers Sugar Co. and the Beet Workers' Industrial Union.

Wilson, Charles F. *A Century of Canadian Grain: Government Policy to 1951*. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978.

Reveals who made decisions and how. Provides some information on grain elevator ownership.

Wonders, William C. "Far Corners of the Strange Empire: Central Alberta on the Eve of Homestead Settlement." *Great Plains Quarterly* III (2) (1983), 93-108.

Contains interesting maps.

Wood, L.A. *A History of Farmers' Movements in Canada*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1924.

Zimmerman, C.C. and Garry Moneo. "The Total Community of the Canadian Wheat Prairies." *Canadian Journal of Agricultural Economics* XVIII (1970), 6-28.

F. Industry, Railroads and Labour

Askin, W.R. "Labour Unrest in Edmonton and District and Its Coverage by the Edmonton Press, 1918-1919." Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Alberta, 1973.

Bercuson, David J. "Western Labour Radicalism and the One Big Union: Myths and Realities." *Journal of Canadian Studies* IX (2) (1974), 3-11.

Argues that the OBU, which rejected parliamentary activity by labour, was a tangential movement rather than a child of western labour radicalism.

------- "Labour Radicalism and the Western Industrial Frontier: 1897-1919." *Canadian Historical Review* LVIII (2) (1977), 154-75.

Argues that the industrial frontier in Canada was the main stimulus in the development of class consciousness and radical working class attitudes. Excellent article.

------- *Alberta's Coal Industry, 1919.* Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 1978.

------- "Tragedy at Bellevue: Anatomy of a Mine Disaster." *Labour/Le Travailleur* 3 (1978), 221-32.

In December 1910, 21 miners died due to negligence by Western Canadian Collieries Co.

------- *Fools and Wise Men: The Rise and Fall of the One Big Union.* Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1978.

Traces the origins of the syndicalist movement among immigrant workers in the mines and mills of western Canada, 1918-1927.

Bladen, M.L. "Construction of Railways in Canada from 1885 to 1931." *Contributions to Canadian Economics* VII (1934), 82-107.

Bohi, Charles. *Canaian National's Western Depots: The Country Stations in Western Canada*. Don Mills, Ontario: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1977.

Discusses the historical context, the origin of station names, architectural plans, design criteria and types of depots built.

Bradwin, Edmund. *The Bunkhouse Man: A Study of Work and Play in the Camps of Canada, 1903-1914*. 2nd edition. Introduced by Jean Brunet. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.

Indispensable reading on living and working conditions and ethnic group relations among railway navvies and miners.

Capling, M. Ann. "Drumheller Strike of 1925." *Alberta History* XXXI (4) (1983), 11-19.

Caragata, Warren. *Alberta Labour: A Heritage Untold*. Toronto: James Lorimer, 1979.

Focuses on unions and their organization, governments and the role they played, and the police.

den Otter, Andy A. "Social Life of a Mining Community: The Coal Branch." *Alberta History* XVII (4) (1969), 1-11.

Eagle, John A. "Sir Robert Borden, Union Government and Railway Nationalization." *Journal of Canadian Studies* X (4) (1975), 59-66.

Discusses Borden's program of nationalization, 1915-1919.

------- "Railways and Canadian Development." *Acadiensis* VII (2) (1978), 159-64.

Reviews books by P. Berton, J.L. McDougall, R. Chodos, K. Lamb, and T.D. Regehr.

Holtslander, Dale. "Railway to Athabasca." *Alberta History* XXVI (1) (1978), 25-28.

Describes construction of 1912-CNoR line from Edmonton to Athabasca Landing and comments on demise of villages.

Horral, S.W. "The Royal North-west Mounted Police and Labour Unrest in Western Canada 1919." *Canadian Historical Review* LXI (2) (1980), 169-90.

Describes intelligence service of RNWMP prior to Winnipeg General Strike.

Ironside, R.G. and S.A. Hamilton. "Historical Geography of Coal Mining in the Edmonton District." *Alberta Historical Review* XX (3) (1972), 6-16.

Judge, J.W. "Early Railroading in Northern Alberta." *Alberta Historical Review* VI (3) (1958), 12-19.

Karas, Frank. "Labour and Coal in the Crow's Nest Pass: 1925-1935." Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Calgary, 1972.

Kirby, Russel S. "Nineteenth-Century Patterns of Railroad Development on the Great Plains." *Great Plains Quarterly* III (3) (1983), 157-70.

Lambrecht, Kirk. "Regional Development and Social Strife: Early Coal Mining in Alberta." *Prairie Forum* IV (2) (1979), 263-80.

Attempts to place development of coal industry in Alberta in its historical context, to 1925.

MacMillan, Charles. "Trade Unionism in District 18, 1900-1925: A Case Study." Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Alberta, 1968.

Martin, J. Edward. *The Railway Stations of Western Canada: An Architectural History*. White Rock, B.C.: Studio E. Martin, 1980.

Nock, O.S. *Railways of Canada*. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1973.

Regehr, T.D. "The Canadian Northern Railway: The West's Own Product." *Canadian Historical Review* LI (1) (1970), 177-85.

------- "Serving the Canadian West: Policies and Problems of the Canadian Northern Railway." *Western Historical Quarterly* III (3) (1972), 281-98.

------- *The Canadian Northern Railway: Pioneer Road of the Northern Prairies, 1895-1918*. Toronto: MacMillan, 1976.

Although he admits that the CNoR was identified with Toronto interests, the author sees the CNoR as a response to prairie transportation needs and complaints in the early 1900s. Seeks to rehabilitate Mackenzie and Mann and argues that the CNoR led prairie farmers in a successful assault on eastern controlled national railway policy. Controversial. Good maps and tables.

Seager, Allan. "The Pass Strike of 1932." *Alberta History*. XXV (1) (1977), 1-11.

Stevens, G.R. *Canadin National Railways*. vol. 2. *Towards the Inevitable, 1892-1922*. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company, 1962.

Woywitka, Anne B. "Strike at Waterways." *Alberta Historical Review* XX (4) (1972), 1-5.

Hnat Barabash's account of the 1916 construction workers strike against the Alberta & Great Waterways Railroad.

------- "Drumheller Strike of 1919." *Alberta Historical Review* XXI (1) (1973), 1-7.

Response of Alberta government, mine companies and the UMWA to the challenge posed by the OBU.

------- "Recollections of a Union Man." *Alberta History* XXIII (4) (1975), 6-20.

Sketch of Peter Kyforuk who arrived at the age of 18 in 1912 from Ukraine, became a labourer and later joined the ULFTA and the FUL.

------- "Homesteader's Woman." *Alberta History* XXIV (2) (1976), 20-24.

Daily life and concerns of Dominka Roshko (b. 1893) after she and her husband moved to the Peace River country in 1912.

------- "A Pioneer Woman in the Labour Movement." Alberta History XXVI (1) (1978), 10-16.

Teklia Chaban's journey from Ukraine in 1914 and life in the Cardiff coal mines during the 1920s.

------- "Labouring on the Railroad." Alberta History XXVII (1) (1979), 25-33.

Nick Gill's reminiscences of work on the railroads 1912-14.

G. Towns and Cities

Artibise, A.F.J. "The Urban West: The Evolution of Prairie Towns and Cities to 1930." Prairie Forum IV (2) (1979), 237-62.

------- "Patterns of Prairie Urban Development, 1871-1950." In Eastern and Western Perspectives, edited by David J. Bercuson and P.A. Buckner, pp. 115-46. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.

------- ed. Town and City: Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1981.

Betke, Carl. "The Orginal City of Edmonton: A Derivative Prairie Urban Community." In Town and City, edited by Artibise, pp. 309-48.

Careless, J.M.S. "Aspects of Urban Life in the West, 1870-1914." In Prairie Perspectives II, edited by A.W. Rasporich, pp. 25-40. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973.

Hammer, Kenneth. "Territorial Towns and Railroads." North Dakota History XXXVI (1969), 357-68.

Hudson, John C. "Towns of the Western Railroads." Great Plains Quarterly II (1) (1982), 41-54.

Knight, Oliver. "Toward an Understanding of the Western Town." Western Historical Quarterly IV (1973), 27-43.

The articles by Hammer, Hudson and Knight deal with American railroad towns but they provide valuable insights into Canadian railroad towns.

Mills, G.E. and D.W. Holdsworth. "The B.C. Mills Prefabricated System: The Emergence of Ready-Made Buildings in Western Canada." *Canadian Historic Sites* XIV (1975), 127-69.

Point out that the system achieved its greatest success with a series of bank buildings manufactured for the Canadian Bank of Commerce.

Richeson, David R. "The Telegraph and Community Formation in the North-west Territories." In *The Developing West*, edited by J.E. Foster, pp. 137-53. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1983.

The introduction of telegraphy had an impact upon elements involved in community formation, especially the press.

Sheremata, J.D. "Entertainment in Edmonton before 1914." Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Alberta, 1970.

Voisey, Paul. "The Urbanization of the Canadian Prairies, 1871-1916." *Histoire Sociale/Social History* VII (1975), 77-101.

Discusses the real estate speculation of the 1870s/80s and 1900s and emphasises the functional relationship of towns with the agricultural economy. Focuses on Calgary, Edmonton, Saskatoon, Regina, and Winnipeg.

------- "Boosting the Small Prairie Town, 1904-1931: An Example from Southern Alberta." In *Town and City*, edited by Artibise, pp.147-77.

Weaver, J.C. "Edmonton's Perilous Course, 1904-29." *Urban History Review* II (1977), 10-19.

Whetten, N.L. "The Social and Economic Structure of the Trade Centres in the Canadian Prairie Provinces, with Special Reference to its Changes, 1910-1930." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 1932.

H. Politics

Avakumovic, Ivan. "The Communist Party of Canada and the Prairie Farmer: The Inter-war Years." In *Western Perspectives I*, edited by David J. Bercuson, pp. 78-87. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974.

Examines fluctuations in CPC policy, focusing on CPC rural branches, transmission belt organizations such as the ULFTA, and organizations such as the PFDL, and FUL. Concludes that the emergence of the CCF and SC parties proved fatal to CPC support among farmers.

------- *The Communist Party of Canada: A History*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975.

Institutional focus, weak on social context and rank and file composition. Nevertheless, the best work available.

Avery, Donald. "Ethnic Loyalties and the Proletarian Revolution: A Case Study of Communist Political Activity in Winnipeg, 1923-36." In *Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada*, edited by J. Dahlie, pp. 68-93. Toronto: Methuen, 1981.

------- "The Radical Alien and the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919." In *The West and the Nation*, edited by Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook, pp. 209-31. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976.

------- "Ethnic and Class Tensions in Canada, 1918-20: Anglo-Canadians and the Alien Worker." In *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War*, edited by Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson, pp. 79-98. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1983.

Babcock, Douglas R. *A Gentleman of Strathcona: Alexander Cameron Rutherford*. Historic Sites Service, Occasional Paper No. 6. Edmonton: Alberta Culture, 1980.

Surveys the career of the first Premier of Alberta and describes Rutherford House.

Betke, Carl. "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921-1935." Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Alberta, 1971.

------- "Farm Politics in an Urban Age: The Decline of the UFA after 1921." In *Essays on Western History*, edited by L.H. Thomas, pp. 175-89. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1976.

Points out that it was the collapse of the UFA well before 1935 that facilitated the SC victory of 1935.

------- "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921-1935." In *Society and Politics in Alberta: Research Papers*, edited by Carlo Caldarola, pp. 14-32. Toronto: Methuen, 1979.

------- "The UFA: Visions of a Cooperative Commonwealth." *Alberta History* XXVII (3) (1979), 7-14.

Boudreau, Joseph A. "The Enemy Alien Problem in Canada, 1914-21." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, UCLA, 1965.

Bacchi, Carol. "Liberation Deferred: The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918." *Histoire Sociale/Social History* X (1977), 433-34.

------- "Race Regeneration and Social Purity: A Study of the Social Attitudes of Canada's English-Speaking Suffragists." *Histoire Sociale/Social History* XI (1978), 460-78.

------- *Liberation Deferred? The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983.

Traces the connection between female suffrage and the Churches, the temperance movement, the social purity movement, labour and farmers' organizations. Points out that the suffragists rejected eugenics while supporting race regeneration through environmental improvements. The suffragists were middle class traditionalists who saw the family as the basic social unit and wanted to preserve and strengthen the old order and their own position.

Barber, Marilyn. "The Assimilation of Immigrants in the Canadian Prairie Provinces, 1896-1918: Canadian Perspectives and Canadian Policies." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of London, 1975.

------- "Nationalism, Nativism and the Social Gospel: The Protestant Church Response to Foreign Immigrants in Western Canada, 1897-1914." In *The Social Gospel in Canada*, edited by Richard Allen, pp. 186-226.

------- "Canadianization Through the Schools of the Prairie Provinces Before World War I: The Attitudes and Aims of the English-Speaking Majority." In *Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education*, edited by M.L. Kovacs, pp. 281-94. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1978.

Good critical overviews, although the author is not in command of details pertaining to bilingual education and Protestant missions since her research is based exclusively on English language sources.

Bate, J.P. "Prohibition and the United Farmers of Alberta." *Alberta Historical Review* XVIII (4) (1970), 1-6.

Bliss, Michael. "'Pure Books on Avoided Subjects': Pre-Freudian Sexual Ideas in Canada." Canadian Historical Association *Historical Papers* (1970), 1-6.

Discusses sex manuals and attitudes towards sex in Canada, 1900-1915.

------- "The Methodist Church and World War I." *Canadian Historical Review* XLIX (3) (1968), 213-33.

Brooks, William H. "The Uniqueness of Western Canadian Methodism, 1840-1925." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* XIX (1-2) (1977), 57-74.

Western Canada was a difficult environment for the spread of Methodism since metropolitanism, railroads and extreme mobility were present from the outset of settlement. As a result the Methodist Church was never securely established and remained devoid of vitality.

Chalmers, John W. *Schools of the Foothills Province*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967.

------- *Teachers of the Foothills Province*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968.

Popular rather than scholarly histories of Alberta schools. Provide some statistical information and try to convey atmosphere.

Chapman, Terry. "Drug Use in Western Canada." *Alberta History* XXIV (4) (1976), 18-27.

Reveals extent of opium, cocaine and morphine use prior to 1919 prohibition of non-medical use of drugs.

------- "The Early Eugenics Movement in Western Canada." *Alberta History* XXV (4) (1977), 9-16.

Traces the history of the movement up to 1928 when the Alberta Act of Sexual Sterilization was passed. The Act reflected the popular belief that east central European immigrants had more than a reasonable share of vices.

Clifford, N.K. "His Dominion: A Vision in Crisis." *Studies in Religion* (1973), 315-26.

Because the vision of Canada as God's Dominion implied a homogeneous population which shared a heritage of political democracy and evangelical Protestantism, Protestants saw the presence of east central European immigrants in the west as a threat and demanded cultural conformity and restrictive immigration policy.

Cook, George L. "Alfred Fitzpatrick and the Foundation of Frontier College." *Canada* III (4) (1976), 15-39.

Alfred Fitzpatrick (1862-1932) and his labourer-teacher students are presented in a sympathetic and somewhat uncritical light.

Drystek, Henry F. "'The Simplest and Cheapest Mode of Dealing with Them': Deportation From Canada Before World War II." *Histoire Sociale/Social History* XV (1982), 407-43.

Emery, George N. "Methodism on the Canadian Prairies, 1896-1914: Dynamics of an Institution in a New Environment." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1970.

------- "The Origins of Canadian Methodist Involvement in the Social Gospel Movement, 1890-1914." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* XIV (1-2) (1977), 104-19.

The Social Gospel provided increasingly affluent, optimistic and nationalistic Methodists with an opportunity to express their concern about problems caused by social change.

Golder, Zlata. "Doctors and the New Immigrants." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* IX (1) (1977), 6-17.

An examination of medical journals published before and after 1919 reveals that the medical profession's racial fears were more influential among doctors than scientifically established facts. The medical profession helped to inhibit the infusion of southern and east central European immigrants into Canada during the 1920s.

Goresky, Isidore. "The Beginning and Growth of the Alberta School System." Unpublished MEd Thesis, University of Alberta, 1945.

Henson, Tom M. "Ku Klux Klan in Western Canada." *Alberta History* XXV (4) (1977), 1-8.

The KKK spread out from B.C. in 1921 and was dead by the early 1930s due to scandals and opposition from Communists and the working class. The KKK was anti-French, -Oriental, -East European, and -union.

Hodgson, E.D. "The Nature and Purposes of the Public School in the Northwest Territories (1885-1905) and Alberta (1905-1963)." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Alberta, 1964.

Hurt, Leslie J. *The Victoria Settlement, 1862-1922.* Historic Sites Services, Occasional Paper no. 7. Edmonton: Alberta Culture, 1979.

Includes a chapter on the Methodist mission among the Ukrainian settlers.

Jones, D.C., N.M. Sheehan and R.M. Stamp, eds. *Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West.* Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1979.

A good collection of essays.

Kieskamp, B. "Presbyterian and Methodist Divines: Their Case For a National Church in Canada, 1875-1900." *Studies in Religion* II (1973), 289-302.

Lester, Geoffrey A. "The Distribution of Religious Groups in Alberta." Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Alberta, 1966.

McClung, Nellie. *In Times Like These*. Introduced by Veronica Strong-Boag. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.

Social criticism by a leading feminist first published in 1915.

MacDougal, John. *Rural Life in Canada*. Introduced by R.C. Bown. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973.

Example of "back to the land" Protestant social thought. First published in 1913.

Magney, William H. "The Methodist Church and the National Gospel, 1884-1914." *Bulletin of the United Church of Canada* 20 (1968), 3-95.

Surveys development of ideas and attitudes of the Methodist hierarchy, especially nationalism and the Social Gospel.

Mitchison, Wendy. "The Women's Christian Temperance Union: A Study in Organization." *International Journal of Women's Studies* IV (2) (1981), 143-56.

------- "The WCTU: 'For God, Home and Native Land': A Study in 19th Century Feminism." In *A Not Unreasonable Claim* edited by Linda Kealey, pp. 157-68. Toronto: The Women's Press, 1979.

Moore, Donald S. "Presbyterian Non-Concurrence and the United Church of Canada." *Bulletin of the United Church of Canada* 24 (1975), 28-39.

Non-concurrence was the result of many Presbyterians' distaste for the Social Gospel and for the centralized semi-episcopal structure of the United Church.

Palmer, Howard. "Anti-Oriental Sentiment in Alberta: 1880-1920." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* II (2) (1970) 31-58.

------- "Responses to Foreign Immigration, Nativism, and Ethnic Tolerance in Alberta, 1880-1920." Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Alberta, 1971.

------- "Nativism in Alberta, 1925-1930." Canadian Historical Association *Historical Papers* (1974), 183-212.

Bacchi, Carol. "Liberation Deferred: The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918." *Histoire Sociale/Social History* X (1977), 433-34.

------- "Race Regeneration and Social Purity: A Study of the Social Attitudes of Canada's English-Speaking Suffragists." *Histoire Sociale/Social History* XI (1978), 460-78.

------- *Liberation Deferred? The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983.

Traces the connection between female suffrage and the Churches, the temperance movement, the social purity movement, labour and farmers' organizations. Points out that the suffragists rejected eugenics while supporting race regeneration through environmental improvements. The suffragists were middle class traditionalists who saw the family as the basic social unit and wanted to preserve and strengthen the old order and their own position.

Barber, Marilyn. "The Assimilation of Immigrants in the Canadian Prairie Provinces, 1896-1918: Canadian Perspectives and Canadian Policies." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of London, 1975.

------- "Nationalism, Nativism and the Social Gospel: The Protestant Church Response to Foreign Immigrants in Western Canada, 1897-1914." In *The Social Gospel in Canada*, edited by Richard Allen, pp. 186-226.

------- "Canadianization Through the Schools of the Prairie Provinces Before World War I: The Attitudes and Aims of the English-Speaking Majority." In *Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education*, edited by M.L. Kovacs, pp. 281-94. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1978.

Good critical overviews, although the author is not in command of details pertaining to bilingual education and Protestant missions since her research is based exclusively on English language sources.

Bate, J.P. "Prohibition and the United Farmers of Alberta." *Alberta Historical Review* XVIII (4) (1970), 1-6.

Bliss, Michael. "'Pure Books on Avoided Subjects': Pre-Freudian Sexual Ideas in Canada." Canadian Historical Association *Historical Papers* (1970), 1-6.

Discusses sex manuals and attitudes towards sex in Canada, 1900-1915.

------- "The Methodist Church and World War I." *Canadian Historical Review* XLIX (3) (1968), 213-33.

Brooks, William H. "The Uniqueness of Western Canadian Methodism, 1840-1925." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* XIX (1-2) (1977), 57-74.

Western Canada was a difficult environment for the spread of Methodism since metropolitanism, railroads and extreme mobility were present from the outset of settlement. As a result the Methodist Church was never securely established and remained devoid of vitality.

Chalmers, John W. *Schools of the Foothills Province*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967.

------- *Teachers of the Foothills Province*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968.

Popular rather than scholarly histories of Alberta schools. Provide some statistical information and try to convey atmosphere.

Chapman, Terry. "Drug Use in Western Canada." *Alberta History* XXIV (4) (1976), 18-27.

Reveals extent of opium, cocaine and morphine use prior to 1919 prohibition of non-medical use of drugs.

------- "The Early Eugenics Movement in Western Canada." *Alberta History* XXV (4) (1977), 9-16.

Traces the history of the movement up to 1928 when the Alberta Act of Sexual Sterilization was passed. The Act reflected the popular belief that east central European immigrants had more than a reasonable share of vices.

Clifford, N.K. "His Dominion: A Vision in Crisis." *Studies in Religion* (1973), 315-26.

Because the vision of Canada as God's Dominion implied a homogeneous population which shared a heritage of political democracy and evangelical Protestantism, Protestants saw the presence of east central European immigrants in the west as a threat and demanded cultural conformity and restrictive immigration policy.

Cook, George L. "Alfred Fitzpatrick and the Foundation of Frontier College." *Canada* III (4) (1976), 15-39.

Alfred Fitzpatrick (1862-1932) and his labourer-teacher students are presented in a sympathetic and somewhat uncritical light.

Drystek, Henry F. "'The Simplest and Cheapest Mode of Dealing with Them': Deportation From Canada Before World War II." *Histoire Sociale/Social History* XV (1982), 407-43.

Emery, George N. "Methodism on the Canadian Prairies, 1896-1914: Dynamics of an Institution in a New Environment." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1970.

------- "The Origins of Canadian Methodist Involvement in the Social Gospel Movement, 1890-1914." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* XIV (1-2) (1977), 104-19.

The Social Gospel provided increasingly affluent, optimistic and nationalistic methodists with an opportunity to express their concern about problems caused by social change.

Golder, Zlata. "Doctors and the New Immigrants." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* IX (1) (1977), 6-17.

An examination of medical journals published before and after 1919 reveals that the medical profession's racial fears were more influential among doctors than scientifically established facts. The medical profession helped to inhibit the infusion of southern and east central European immigrants into Canada during the 1920s.

Goresky, Isidore. "The Beginning and Growth of the Alberta School System." Unpublished MEd Thesis, University of Alberta, 1945.

Henson, Tom M. "Ku Klux Klan in Western Canada." *Alberta History* XXV (4) (1977), 1-8.

The KKK spread out from B.C. in 1921 and was dead by the early 1930s due to scandals and opposition from Communists and the working class. The KKK was anti-French, -Oriental, -East European, and -union.

Hodgson, E.D. "The Nature and Purposes of the Public School in the Northwest Territories (1885-1905) and Alberta (1905-1963)." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Alberta, 1964.

Hurt, Leslie J. *The Victoria Settlement, 1862-1922*. Historic Sites Services, Occasional Paper no. 7. Edmonton: Alberta Culture, 1979.

Includes a chapter on the Methodist mission among the Ukrainian settlers.

Jones, D.C., N.M. Sheehan and R.M. Stamp, eds. *Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West*. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1979.

A good collection of essays.

Kieskamp, B. "Presbyterian and Methodist Divines: Their Case For a National Church in Canada, 1875-1900." *Studies in Religion* II (1973), 289-302.

Lester, Geoffrey A. "The Distribution of Religious Groups in Alberta." Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Alberta, 1966.

McClung, Nellie. *In Times Like These.* Introduced by Veronica Strong-Boag. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.

Social criticism by a leading feminist first published in 1915.

MacDougal, John. *Rural Life in Canada.* Introduced by R.C. Bown. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973.

Example of "back to the land" Protestant social thought. First published in 1913.

Magney, William H. "The Methodist Church and the National Gospel, 1884-1914." *Bulletin of the United Church of Canada* 20 (1968), 3-95.

Surveys development of ideas and attitudes of the Methodist hierarchy, especially nationalism and the Social Gospel.

Mitchison, Wendy. "The Women's Christian Temperance Union: A Study in Organization." *International Journal of Women's Studies* IV (2) (1981), 143-56.

------- "The WCTU: 'For God, Home and Native Land': A Study in 19th Century Feminism." In *A Not Unreasonable Claim* edited by Linda Kealey, pp. 157-68. Toronto: The Women's Press, 1979.

Moore, Donald S. "Presbyterian Non-Concurrence and the United Church of Canada." *Bulletin of the United Church of Canada* 24 (1975), 28-39.

Non-concurrence was the result of many Presbyterians' distaste for the Social Gospel and for the centralized semi-episcopal structure of the United Church.

Palmer, Howard. "Anti-Oriental Sentiment in Alberta: 1880-1920." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* II (2) (1970) 31-58.

------- "Responses to Foreign Immigration, Nativism, and Ethnic Tolerance in Alberta, 1880-1920." Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Alberta, 1971.

------- "Nativism in Alberta, 1925-1930." Canadian Historical Association *Historical Papers* (1974), 183-212.

------- "Patterns of Racism: Attitudes Toward Chinese and Japanese in Alberta, 1920-1950." *Histoire Sociale/Social History* XIII (1980), 137-60.

------- "Ethnic Relations in Wartime: Nationalism and European Minorities in Alberta During the Second World War." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* XIV (3) (1982), 1-23.

------- *Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982.

Rational and dispassionate. Finds prejudice emerging more strongly in mining camps and cities than in rural areas and small towns. Argues that the "visibility" of a group was more important than its size in provoking ethnic conflict. Essential reading.

Patterson, Robert S. "Progressive Education: Impetus to Educational Change in Alberta and Saskatchewan." In *The New Provinces,* edited by Howard Palmer and Donald Smith, pp. 173-98. Vancouver: Tantalus Research Limited, 1980.

------- "History of Teacher Education in Alberta." In *Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West*, edited by D.C. Jones et al, pp. 192-207.

Critical overview. Points out and seeks to explain failings of teacher training in Alberta.

Rea, J.E. "'My line is the kiddies...make them good Christians and good Canadians which is the same thing." In *Identities*, edited by Wsewolod W. Isajiw, pp. 3-14. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1977.

Focuses on the abolition of bilingual schools in Manitoba in 1916.

Robinson, Leslie. "Agrarian Reformers: Women and the Farm Movement in Alberta, 1900-1925." Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Calgary, 1979.

Robinson, Marjorie Z. "Reading Camp Association in Alberta." *Alberta History* XXIX (1) (1981), 35-39.

The RCA was first active in Alberta in 1909.

Rutherford, Paul. "Tomorrow's Metropolis: The Urban Reform Movement in Canada, 1880-1920." Canadian Historical Association *Historical Papers* (1971), 203-24.

Discusses how internal migration in Canada created a need for urban reform during 1880-1920.

Sheehan, Nancy M. "Indoctrination: Moral Education in the Early Prairie School House." In Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West, edited by D.C. Jones et al, pp. 222-35.

Argues that moral education took precedence over academics prior to 1940.

------- "The WCTU on the Prairies, 1886-1930: An Alberta-Saskatchewan Comparison." Prairie Forum VI (1) 1981), 17-34.

------- "Women Helping Women: The WCTU and the Foreign Population in the West, 1905-1930." International Journal of Women's Studies VI (5) (1983), 395-411.

The pattern of immigrant settlement in Alberta made it difficult for the WCTU to have a serious impact on immigrant women.

Sparby, Harry T. "A History of the Alberta School System to 1925." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Stanford University, 1958.

The best scholarly study available. Informative statistical tables.

Stamp, Robert M. "Technical Education, the National Policy, and Federal-Provincial Relations in Canadian Education, 1899-1919." Canadian Historical Review LII (4) (1971), 404-23.

Emphasizes role of MacKenzie King and postwar social and economic turmoil in hastening federal support of technical education.

------- "Canadian High Schools in the 1920s and 1930s: The Social Challenge to the Academic Tradition." Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers (1978), 76-93.

Strong-Boag, Veronica. "Canadian Feminism in the 1920s: The Case of Nellie L. McClung." Journal of Canadian Studies XII (4) (1977), 58-69.

Argues that McClung's brand of moral reform was out of step with the 1920s.

------- "The Girl of the New Day: Canadian Working Women in the 1920s." Labour/Le Travailleur 4 (1979), 131-64.

Sutherland, Neil. Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.

Analyzes efforts of social reformers in three areas: schooling, public health and child welfare. One chapter is devoted to a discussion of the education of immigrant children in the West.

Thompson, John H. and J. Lee Thompson. "Ralph Connor and the Canadian Identity." Queen's Quarterly LXXIX (2) (1972), 159-70.

------- "'The Beginning of Our Regeneration': The Great War and Western Canadian Reform Movements." Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers (1972), 227-46.

Villa-Arce, Jose. "Alberta Provincial Police." Alberta Historical Review XXI (4) (1973), 16-19.

Brief sketch of the APP 1917-1932.

Vipond, Mary. "'Blessed are the peacemakers': The Social Gospel in Canadian Fiction." Journal of Canadian Studies X (3) (1975), 32-43.

Includes an analysis of Ralph Connor's To Him That Hath.

------- "Canadian National Consciousness and the Formation of the United Church of Canada." Bulletin of the United Church of Canada 24 (1975), 4-27.

Argues that the Church Union resulted from heavy European immigration and the need to evangelize the West.

Voisey, Paul L. "The 'Votes for Women' Movement." Alberta History XXIII (3) (1975), 10-23.

Examines the power structure in the three Prairie provinces and the women's victory in 1916.

Wilson, J.D., R.M. Stamp and L.-P. Audet, eds. Canadian Education: A History. Toronto: Prentice Hall, 1970.

A comprehensive textbook.

Wilson, L.J. "Educational Role of the United Farm Women of Alberta." In Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West, edited by D.C. Jones et al, pp. 124-35.

The UFWA were involved in library, youth, folk school and social service work. They emphasized the practical rather than the theoretical.

J. Immigration and Immigrants as Seen by Contemporaries

Anderson, James T.M. The Education of the New Canadian: A Treatise on Canada's Greatest Educational Problem. Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1918.

Alarmist "expose" by a Saskatchewan school inspector soon to become Conservative premier of Saskatchewan. Very influential in its day.

Baumgartner, F.W. "Central European Immigration." *Queen's Quarterly* XXXVII (1930), 183-92.

Bickersteth, J. Burgeon. *The Land of Open Doors*. 2nd edition. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.

Eyewitness account of social conditions by an Anglican minister from England living in Alberta prior to WWI.

Bridgeman, Wellington. *Breaking Prairie Sod*. Toronto: Musson, 1920.

A Manitoba Methodist clergyman's nativist response to WWI.

Brooke, Rupert. *Letters from America*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916.

The young English poet (1887-1915) travelled in North America in 1913. His impression of Ukrainians is found in chapter X.

Cameron, Agnes D. *The New North: Being Some Account of a Woman's Journey Through Canada to the Arctic*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1910.

Ukrainians are discussed in chapter II of this book by a school teacher from British Columbia.

Conn, J.R. "Immigration." *Queen's Quarterly* VIII (1900), 117-31.

Culbertson, Ely. *The Strange Lives of One Man: An Autobiography*. Chicago: Winston, 1940.

Includes a description of Ukrainian navvies.

Fraser, John F. *Canada As It Is*. 2nd Edition. London: Cassell and Company, 1911.

Ukrainians are discussed in two chapters of this book by an Englishman.

Fitzpatick, Alfred. *Handbook for New Canadians*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1919.

------- *The University in Overalls: A Plea for Part-Time Study*. Toronto: Hunter Rose Co., 1920.

Both books by the Presbyterian clergyman who founded the Reading Camp Association/Frontier College were popular with educators. They advocate assimilation (anglicization) of immigrants and neutralization of labour unrest through the agency of university students acting as instructors in the frontier camps.

Gordon, Charles William (Ralph Connor). "Our Duty to the English Speaking and European Settlers." In Canada's Missionary Congress, pp. 101-08. Toronto: Canadian Council of The Laymen's Missionary Movement, 1909.

------- The Foreigner: A Tale of Saskatchewan. Toronto: Westminster Company Ltd., 1909.

A blueprint for "Canadianization" by the best selling author, a Presbyterian clergyman, from Winnipeg. The work reveals all the qualities of a "colonial" novel.

Hamilton, Louis. "Foreigners in the Canadian West." Dalhousie Review XVII (1938), 448-60.

Hurd, W. Burton. "The Case for a Quota." Queen's Quarterly XXXVII (1929), 145-59.

Kennedy, Howard A. New Canada and the New Canadians. London: Horace Marshall and Son, 1907.

See chapter VI.

Lower, Arthur M. "The Case Against Immigration." Queen's Quarterly XXXVII (1930), 557-74.

MacBeth, Roderick George. Our Task In Canada. Toronto: The Westminster Co., 1912.

A Presbyterian clergyman and a descendent of the original Red River settlers expresses his anxiety about "foreigners".

McClung, Nellie L. The Stream Runs Fast: My Own Story. Toronto: Thomas Allen Ltd., 1945.

Ukrainians and the Methodist mission at Pakan are discussed in chaper XIX.

McEvoy, Bernard. From the Great Lakes to the Wide West: Impressions of a Tour Between Toronto and the Pacific. London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., Ltd., 1902.

See chapers VII and X.

Mitchell, Elizabeth. *In Western Canada Before the War: A Study of Communities*. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1981.

First published in 1915.

Murray, Walter. "Continental Europeans in Western Canada." *Queen's Quarterly* XXXVIII (1931), 63-75.

Ridout, Denzil G. "European Sources of Non-Anglo Saxons in Canada." *Canadian Geographical Journal* II (1931), 201-23.

Woodsworth, J.S. *Strangers Within Our Gates*. Introduced by Marilyn Barber. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.

------- *My Neighbour*. Introduced by Richard Allen. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.

A Winnipeg based Methodist missionary's Social Gospel-inspired response to the problems of immigrants and the urban poor.

Yeigh, Frank. *Through the Heart of Canada*. Toronto: Henry Frowde, 1911.

See chapter X.

4. Ukrainians in Alberta

A. General Studies of Ukrainians in Canada and Alberta

Darcovich, William and Paul Yuzyk, eds. *A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada 1891-1976*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1980.

Editorial Committee. *Ukrainians in Alberta*. vol. 1. Edmonton: Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta, 1975.

------- *Ukrainians in Alberta*. vol. 2. Edmonton: Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta, 1981.

Brief biographies of settlers appended to articles on farming, education, religion and local communities. Valuable if used critically and with caution.

Hobart, C.W., W.E. Kalbach, J.T. Borhek and A.P. Jacoby. *Persistence and Change: Alberta Ukrainians*. Toronto: Canadian Research Foundation, 1968.

Sociological study of three Ukrainian communities in east central Alberta focusing on change since 1945. Good introductory chapters.

Isajiw, Wsewolod W. *Ukrainians in American and Canadian Society: Contributions to the Sociology of Ethnic Groups*. Jersey City, N.J.: M.P. Kots Publishing, 1976.

Kostash, Myrna. *All of Baba's Children*. Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1977.

Feminist, progressive journalist looks at her Ukrainian roots and reflects upon life in the Two Hills area. Good reading but this is not history.

Kravchuk, Petro (Peter Krawchuk). *Na Novii zemlii* (In the New Land). Toronto: TOUK, 1958.

------- *Piatdesiat rokiv sluzhinnia narodu* (Fifty Years of Service to the People). Toronto: Ukrainske zhyttia, 1957.

A CPWU, CPC, ULFTA and AUUC activist, Krawchuk writes history with an obvious bias. However he provides a great deal of information on subjects avoided by most Ukrainian Canadian historians: working class life and Ukrainian involvement in the CPC and ULFTA. His work transcends the purely chronological approach of most Ukrainian Canadian historians.

Lazarenko, Joseph M., ed. *The Ukrainian Pioneers in Alberta, Canada*. Edmonton: Ukrainian Pioneers' Association, 1970.

More biographies of pioneers appended to articles on politics and education.

Lupul, Manoly R., ed. *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982.

A collection of essays of varying quality which seeks to provide an overview of Ukrainian Canadian history. See especially the articles by Himka, Kaye and Swyripa, and Lupul.

Lysenko, Vera. *Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1947.

Written from the ULFTA/AUUC (communist) point of view.

Marunchak, Michael H. *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History*. 2nd edition. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1982.

An encyclopaedic compilation of facts arranged in chronological and thematic sequence. The author is to be admired for his energy and determination to write a book of such dimensions rather than for the quality of his work. The second edition reproduces the stylistic and factual errors of the first edition.

Piniuta, Harry. *Land of Pain, Land of Promise: First Person Accounts by Ukrainian Pioneers, 1891-1914*. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978.

Contains 15 personal accounts translated from the Ukrainian Canadian press and previously published books. They provide a good introduction to the "immigrant experience" although the author has chosen to ignore immigrant radicalism and political activity, thereby reinforcing the stereotype that the immigrants were docile and politically apathetic.

Potrebenko, Helen. *No Streets of Gold: A Social History of Ukrainians in Alberta*. Vancouver: New Star Books, 1977.

Useful for its account of daily life as experienced by Ukrainian immigrants who settled on the land in Alberta. Strongly pro-ULFTA/AUUC bias detracts from the author's analysis of politics which at best is rather weak.

Stechishin, Julian. *Istoriia poselennia ukraintsiv u Kanadi*. (History of Ukrainian Settlement in Canada). Edmonton: Ukrainian Self Reliance League, 1975.

Woycenko, Olha. *The Ukrainians in Canada*. Ottawa-Winnipeg: Canada Ethnica, 1967.

Weak.

Young, Charles H. *The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation*. Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1931.

Excellent study of Ukrainian Canadian life and society during the 1920s. Indispensable reading. Although over 50 years old it remains unsurpassed as a source of information, especially on subjects such as health and criminality which Ukrainian Canadian historians are loathe to discuss.

B. Settlement and Farming

Betke, Carl. "The Urban Impact on Ukrainian Settlement in East Central Alberta before 1930." Unpublished paper, Alberta Culture, Edmonton, 1982.

Bilash, Radomir. "The Colonial Development of East Central Alberta and its Effect on Ukrainian Immigrant Settlement to 1930." Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1983.

The history of material culture is probed with the analytical tools of the cultural geographer and anthropologist.

Byrne, Timothy C. "The Ukrainian Community in North Central Alberta." Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Alberta, 1937.

Interesting information on religious and political loyalties among Ukrainians in east central Alberta during the 1930s.

Goresky, Isidore. "Early Settlement in Alberta." In *Ukrainians in Alberta*, vol. 1., pp. 17-38. Edmonton: Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta, 1975.

Identifies villages and districts in Galicia and Bukovyna which contributed immigrants who settled in Alberta.

Gulka-Tiechko, Myron. "Inter-war Ukrainian Immigration to Canada, 1919-1939." Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1983.

Focuses on relations between Ukrainian Canadian immigration societies and the railroads.

Ignatiuk, G.P. "Ukrainian Settlements in the Canadian West." In *Development of Agriculture on the Canadian Prairies: Proceedings of a Seminar*, pp. 175-215. Regina: University of Regina, 1975.

Isajiw, W.W. "Occupational and Economic Development." In *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada*, edited by Manoly R. Lupul, pp. 59-84. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982.

Kaye, V.J. (Volodymyr Kysilevsky). *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895-1900*. Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1964.

A detailed account of the origins and the first decade of Ukrainian settlement in Canada. The author cites the reports of immigration officers and travellers at length. Provides much detailed information on Dr. Oleskiv's settlers and argues that they were, by and large, the descendants of the impoverished gentry of eastern Galicia.

------- "Early Ukrainian Graduates of Agricultural Colleges." *Slavs in Canada* II (1968), 263-72.

------- "The Descendants of the Boyars of Halych on the Prairies of the Canadian West." In *The Jubilee Collection of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in Canada*, edited by Oleh W. Gerus, et al, pp. 361-78. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1975.

------- "The Pioneer Settlers of Alberta, 1892-1900." Unpublished manuscript, 1976.

A biographical dictionary which lists homestead entries. Available at the UCHV, HSS, Alberta Culture.

------- and Frances Swyripa. "Settlement and Colonization." In *A Heritage in Transition*, edited by M.R. Lupul, pp. 32-58.

A brief summary.

Kostash, William and Fred Magera. "They Came to Farm." In *Ukrainians in Alberta*, vol. 1, pp. 44-58.

Lazarowich, Peter J. "Ukrainian Pioneers in Western Canada." *Alberta Historical Review* V (4) (1957), 17-27.

Lehr, John C. "Ukrainian Houses in Alberta. " *Alberta Historical Review* XXI (4) (1973), 9-15.

------- "Changing Ukrainian House Styles." *Alberta Historical Review* XXIII (1) (1975), 25-29.

------- "The Rural Settlement Behaviour of Ukrainian Pioneers in Western Canada, 1891-1914." In *Western Canadian Research in Geography*, edited by B. Barr, pp. 51-66. Vancouver: Tantalus Research, 1975.

------- *Ukrainian Vernacular Architecture in Alberta*. Historic Sites Services, Occasional Paper no. 1. Edmonton: Alberta Culture, 1976.

------- "The Government and the Immigrant: Perspectives on Ukrainian Block Settlement in the Canadian West." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* IX (2) (1977), 42-52.

------- "The Process and Pattern of Ukrainian Rural Settlement in Western Canada, 1891-1914." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1978.

------- "The Ukrainian Presence on the Prairies." *Canadian Geographic* XCVII (2) (1978), 28-33.

------- "The Log Buildings of Ukrainian Settlers in Western Canada." *Prairie Forum* V (2) (1980), 183-96.

------- "Colour Preferences and Building Decoration Among Ukrainians in Western Canada." *Prairie Forum* VI (2) (1981), 203-06.

------- "The Landscape of Ukrainian Settlement in the Canadian West." *Great Plains Quarterly* II (2) (1982), 94-105.

------- "Governmental Coercion in the Settlement of Ukrainian Immigrants in Western Canada." *Prairie Forum* VIII (2) (1983), 179-94.

------- "Propaganda and Belief: Ukrainian Emigrant Views of the Canadian West." In *New Soil -- Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada*, edited by J. Rozumnyj, pp. 1-17. Winnipeg: UAAS, 1983.

Lehr's work on Ukrainian settlement patterns is excellent and should be read by anyone interested in Ukrainian immigration to Canada. It demonstrates the extent to which traditional peasant perceptions and social concerns, rather than governmental coercion influenced land selection and settlement. His work on vernacular architecture, which stresses the adaption of traditional styles to the new environment, is less impressive.

MacGregor, James G. Vilni Zemli/Free Lands: The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969.

A popular account of Ukrainian settlement in east central Alberta from 1891 to about 1920. The author seems to rely rather heavily on the memoirs of Theodore Nemirsky, a Russophile spokesman. His account of religious and political developments must be handled cautiously and critically.

Makuch, Andrij. "Ukrainian Canadians and the Wartime Economy." In Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War, edited by Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson, pp. 69-77. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1983.

A valuable contribution.

Ponich, M.H. "Wasyl Eleniak: Father of Ukrainian Settlers in Canada." Alberta Historical Review IV (3) (1956), 17-18.

Royick, Alexander. "Ukrainian Settlements in Alberta." Canadian Slavonic Papers X (3) (1968), 278-97.

Indicates the districts in Galicia and Bukovyna from which settlers migrated to Alberta.

Svarich, Peter (Petro Zvarych). "Budovanie domiv na farmakh." (The Construction of Farm Dwellings). Kaliendar Ukrainskoho holosu 1917 (Calendar of the Ukrainian Voice 1917), 158-60. Winnipeg. 1916.

------- "Pro ko-operatyvu." (About Cooperatives). Almanakh Ukrainskoho holosu 1916 (Almanac of the Ukrainian Voice 1916), 113-20. Winnipeg. 1915.

------- "Istoriia, rozvii i uprava Ruskoi Narodnoi Torhovli v Alberti." (The History, Growth and Administration of the Ruthenian National Trading Co. in Alberta). Almanakh Ukrainskoho holosu 1916, pp. 136-45.

------- "Do pytannia rozvytku i postupu v materialnii kulturi ukrainskykh poselentsiv u Kanadi." (On the Problem of Development and Progress in the Material Culture of Ukrainian Settlers in Canada). In Zbirnyk na poshanu Zenona Kuzeli (Collected Papers in Honour of Zenon Kuzelia), pp. 150-60. Paris-New York: Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka, 1962.

Svarich was perhaps the most influential Ukrainian in Alberta prior to 1920. The articles are informative.

Swyripa, Frances. "The Ukrainian Block in East Central Alberta." Unpublished paper, Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, 1976.

A survey of Ukrainian rural communities. Railroad towns are not included.

Wonders, W.C. and M.A. Rasmussen. "Log Buildings of West Central Alberta." Prairie Forum V (2) (1980), 197-217.

Mentions Ukrainian dwellings. Interesting diagrams.

Woodsworth, James S., director, "Ukrainian Rural Communities: Report of an Investigation by the Bureau of Social Research, Governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta." Unpublished paper, Winnipeg, 1917.

Excellent survey of agricultural, economic and social conditions in the Ukrainian bloc settlements of Western Canada. Compiled with the aid of Ukrainian-speaking field researchers and Protestant missionaries. Required reading. Someone should publish this report.

Wright, J.F.C. "Ukrainian-Canadians." Canadian Geographical Journal XXV (1942), 74-87.

C. Religion, the Church and Protestant Missions

Basilian Fathers, eds., Monder uchora i siohodni. (Mundare Yesterday and Today). Toronto: Basilian Press, 1968.

Mundare was and remains the site of the first Basilian monastery and mission centre in Alberta.

Bodrug, Ivan. "Spomyny pastora Ivana Bodruga." (Memoirs of Pastor Ivan Bodrug). Ievanhelska pravda (Evangelical Truth) XVIII (9-10, 11, 12) (1957) and XIX (1-2, 3, 4) (1958).

Memoirs of the man who personified the Independent Greek Church. Interesting glimpses of peasant immigrant beliefs and attitudes as well as an outline history of the Church to 1913.

Bozhyk, Panteleimon. *Tserkov ukraintsiv v Kanadi*. (The Church of the Ukrainians in Canada). Winnipeg: Kanadyiskyi ukrainets, 1927.

Especially useful as a guide to the all but impenetrable history of the Russo-Orthodox Church in Canada. However, it must be kept in mind that Bozhyk wrote the book shortly after leaving the Russo-Orthodox priesthood and joining the Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic Church in the same capacity. Opponents of the Ukrainian Catholic Church are caricaturized.

Crath, Paul, et al. "Survey of Various Communities in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. Made Under the Direction of the Boards of Social Service, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches." Ca. 1917. Unpublished.

Identifies and locates Ukrainian parishes of all denominations, names their clergymen, estimates number of parishioners, reveals fees charged by the clergy for various services. Crath was a socialist revolutionary turned Presbyterian (later United Chuch) missionary.

Dombrovsky, Oleksander. *Narys istorii ukrainskoho ievanhelsko-reformovanoho rukhu*. (An Outline History of the Ukrainian Evangelical-Reformed Movement). New York-Toronto: Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance of North America, 1979.

Although an "official" history, the book provides a great deal of useful information about the men who established and led the Independent Greek Church and the Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance. It demonstrates that they were men of above average education among the immigrants and lays to rest the myth that they were careerists who were willing to sacrifice the immigrants' Ukrainian heritage in exchange for personal advancement.

Emery, George N. "Methodist Missions Among the Ukrainians." *Alberta Historical Review* XIX (2) (1971), 8-19.

Focuses on the Rev. C.H. Lawford MD and the mission at Pakan.

Goresky, Isidore. "Minutes of the Founding of One of the First Ukrainian Catholic Churches in Alberta." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* VI (1) (1974), 67-69.

Minutes of the church at Rabbit Hill, Alberta.

Hryniuk, Stella. "The Bishop Budka Controversy: A New Perspective." *Canadian Slavonic Papers* XXIII (2) (1981), 154-65.

Fails to illuminate the controversy in adequate depth. Does not mention the key role played by the Bishop's advisers in alienating him from the Ukrainian intelligentsia.

------- and Roman Yereniuk. "Building the New Jerusalem on the Prairies: The Ukrainian Experience." In *Visions of the New Jerusalem: Religious Settlement on the Prairies*, edited by B.G. Smillie, pp. 137-52. Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1983.

Not very reliable.

Kazymyra, Bohdan. "Metropolitan Andrew Sheptyckyj and the Ukrainians in Canada." Canadian Catholic Historical Association *Study Sessions* (1957), 75-86.

Fails to mention local immigrant opposition to the Church.

Lishchynsky, Andrew. "Bishop Nicetas Budka and the Ukrainian Immigrants in Canada, 1912-1929." Unpublished MA Thesis. University of Ottawa, 1955.

An uninformative hagiography by a Greek Catholic priest. In Ukrainian with an English summary.

Martynowych, Orest T. "Ukrainian Catholic Clericalism in Western Canada, 1900-1932: Disintegration and Reconsolidation." Unpublished paper, University of Manitoba, 1974.

A seminar paper that focuses on the alliance between the Ukrainian Greek Catholic clergy and the Monarchists (Hetmantsi) during the 1920s.

------- "Village Radicals and Peasants Immigrants: The Social Roots of Factionalism among Ukrainian Immigrants in Canada, 1896-1918." Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1978.

Emphasis is placed on the continuity between Ukrainian Radicalism in Galicia and Bukovyna and the confrontation between the intelligentsia and the Catholic clergy in Canada. Chapter III deals with the religious controversy. Also deals with popular culture, Protestant missions and the school issue.

------- "'Canadianizing the Foreigner': Presbyterian Missionaries and Ukrainian Immigrants." In *New Soil -- Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada*, edited by J. Rozumnyj, pp. 33-57. Winnipeg: UAAS, 1983.

Focuses on ideas and activities of C.W. Gordon (Ralph Connor), A.J. Hunter and Alfred Fitzpatrick.

Marunchak, Mykhailo. "Zmahannia za nezalezhnist tserkvy." (The Struggle for Ecclesiastical Independence). In *Studii do istorii ukraintsiv Kanady* vol. II (Studies on the History of Ukrainians in Canada vol. II), edited by M.H. Marunchak, pp. 371-464. Winnipeg: UVAN, 1966-67.

An informative and well written article which covers the period from 1896 to 1912. A number of Marunchak's articles are of far greater credit to his abilities as an historian than is his thick *History*.

Navalkowsky, Anna. "Shandro Church." *Alberta History* XXX (4) (1982), 25-30.

Olender, Vivian C. "The Reaction of the Canadian Methodist Church Towards Ukrainian Immigrants: Rural Missions as Agencies of Assimilation." Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Toronto, 1976.

------- "The Canadian Methodist Church and the Gospel of Assimilation, 1900-1925." *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 13 (Fall 1982), 61-74.

------- "'Save them for the Nation': Methodist Rural Home Missions as Agencies of Assimilation." *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 15 (Winter 1983), 38-51.

------- "Presbyterian Missions and Ukrainians in Canada, 1900-1925." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1984.

Well written articles, very critical of Methodist efforts. The thesis and dissertion were submitted to the Department of Theology at St. Michael's College. The author seems to have little interest in the quality of every day life among Ukrainian peasant immigrants. Consequently she is too harsh in her evaluations of the Protestant missionaries.

Palij, Michael. "Early Ukrainian Immigration to the United States and the Conversion of the Ukrainian Catholic Parish in Minneapolis to Russian Orthodoxy." *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 15 (Winter 1983), 13-37.

Popowich, Sister, C.H. *To Serve is to Love: The Canadian Story of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate*. Toronto: SSMI, 1971.

Procko, Bohdan P. *Ukrainian Catholics in America: A History*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982.

Inoffensive.

Savchuk, Rev. S.V. "Iak povstala Ukrainska Pravoslavna Tserkva v Kanadi." (On the Formation of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada). *Pravoslavnyi vistnyk* (Orthodox Herald) I (2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10) (1924) and II (1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9) (1925).

An account by one of the Church's founders.

Scott, W.L. *The Ukrainians: Our Most Pressing Problem*. Toronto: Catholic Truth Society of Canada, 1931.

Tremblay, Emilien, CSSR. *Le Pere Delaere et l'eglise ukrainienne du Canada.* Ottawa: n.p., n.d. (ca. 1960).

Trosky, Odarka S. *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada*. Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1968.

An institutional history by the daughter of a Ukrainian Orthodox priest.

Velyky, Atanasii H. *Narys istorii zhromadzhennia ss. Sluzhebnyts PNDM*. (An Outline History of the Order of Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate). Rome: oo. Vasyliany, 1968.

Wenstob, Murray. "The Work of the Methodist Church Among Settlers in Alberta up to 1914 with Special Reference to the Formation of Congregations and Work Among the Ukrainian People." Unpublished BD Thesis, University of Alberta, 1959.

Absolutely uncritical.

Yuzyk, Paul. "The History of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church in Canada." Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1948.

------- "The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada (1918-1951)." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1958.

------- *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1918-1951*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1981.

------- "Religious Life." In *A Heritage in Transition*, edited by Manoly R. Lupul, pp. 143-72. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982.

The lengthy introductory surveys of Ukrainian history which accompany all of Yuzyk's publications are largely superfluous. His work on the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church is "turgidly institutional and triumphalistic" but it remains the only serious study of that institution.

Zuk, Michael. "The Ukrainian Protestant Missions in Canada." Unpublished STM Thesis, McGill University, 1957.

Zuk, Radoslav. "Ukrainian Church Architecture in Canada." *Slavs in Canada* II (1968), 229-34.

D. Education and Cultural Life

Bercuson, Leonard. "Education in the Bloc Settlements of Western Canada." Unpublished MA Thesis, McGill University, 1941.

Interesting study by a former teacher who worked in east central Alberta.

Chalmers, John W. "Strangers in Our Midst." *Alberta Historical Review* XVI (1) (1968), 18-23.

Uncritical account of the "Great Ruthenian School Revolt" of 1913.

Chomiak, M. "Contributions of Ukrainians to the Development and Growth of Schools in Alberta." *Slavs in Canada* II (1968), 273-77.

Czumer, William A. *Recollections About the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada*. Translated by L.L. Laychuk. Introduced by Manoly R. Lupul. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1980.

Written by the bilingual school teacher at the centre of the "Great Ruthenian School Revolt" of 1913. Contains much useful information about education, business and politics within the Ukrainian community prior to 1920. Originally published in Ukrainian in 1942.

Deverell, Jessie M. "The Ukrainian Teacher as an Agent of Cultural Assimilation." Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Toronto, 1941.

A very valuable analysis of Ukrainians in the Alberta teaching profession during the 1920s and 1930s. Statistical information and description of attitudes.

Hobart, Charles W. "Adjustment of Ukrainians in Alberta: Alienation and Integration." *Slavs in Canada* I (1966) 69-85.

Jaenen, Cornelius J. "Ruthenian Schools in Western Canada." *Paedagogica Historica* X (3) (1970), 517-41.

Especially valuable information on conditions in the teacher training institutions.

Klymasz, Robert B. "Ukrainian Folklore in Canada: An Immigrant Complex in Transition." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Indiana University, 1971.

Examines dissolution and acquisition techniques of immigrant folklore. Essential reading.

------- "From Immigrant to Ethnic Folklore: A Canadian View of Process and Transition." *Journal of the Folklore Institute* X (3) (1973). 131-39.

------- *Folk Narrative Among Ukrainian Canadians in Western Canada*. Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1973.

------- *Continuity and Change: The Ukrainian Heritage*. Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1975.

------- and James Porter. "Traditional Ukrainian Balladry in Canada." *Western Folklore* XXXIII (2) (1974), 89-132.

Discusses function, content, poetics, structure and style of traditional Ukrainian balladry that remains popular in Western Canada.

Kostash, William and Fred Hannochko. "Education and Teachers." In *Ukrainians in Alberta*, vol. 1., pp. 181-201.

An adequate survey by two veteran school teachers.

Lupul, Manoly R. "The Portrayal of Canada's 'Other' Peoples in Alberta's History and Social Studies Textbooks, 1905 to the Present." *Alberta Journal of Educational Research* XXII (1976), 1-33.

------- "Ukrainian-language Education in Canada's Public Schools." In *A Heritage in Transition*, edited by M.R. Lupul, pp. 215-43.

A good introduction.

Navalkowski, Anna. "Shandro School." *Alberta Historical Review* XVII (4) (1970), 8-14.

McAllister, John W. "The Rural School as a Community Centre: A Discussion Dealing with the Problem of the Assimilation of the New Canadians in Western Canada." Unpublished MSc Thesis, University of Alberta, 1925.

Contains many photographs of the model schoolyard.

Prokop, Dmytro. *Spomyny vchytelia-pionera*. (Memoirs of a Pioneer Teacher). Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1979.

The author taught in Saskatchewan and Alberta during the 1920s and 1930s. Describes extra-curricular activities designed to help pupils preserve their Ukrainian heritage.

Pylypow, Henry. "Two First Days." *Alberta History* XXVII (3) (1979), 31-34.

Skwarok, J. OSBM. *The Ukrainian Settlers in Canada and Their Schools*. Edmonton: Basilian Press, 1958.

A survey of public and private school education by a Ukrainian Catholic priest.

Swyripa, Frances. "The Ukrainians and Private Education." In *A Heritage in Transition,* edited by M.R. Lupul, pp. 244-62.

Woywitka, Anne B. "Waugh Homesteaders and Their School." *Alberta History* XXII (1) (1975), 13-17.

Wynnyckyj, Iroida L. "Ukrainian Canadian Drama: From the Beginnings of Immigration to 1942." Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Waterloo, 1976.

Informative. Reveals that Old World themes predominated throughout the period.

E. Political Activity

Gerus, Oleh W. "Ukrainian Diplomatic Representation in Canada, 1920-23." In *Loyalties in Conflict*, edited by F. Swyripa and J.H. Thompson, pp. 143-58. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1983.

------- "The Canadian-Galician Connection: Osyp Nazaruk in Canada, 1922-23." In *New Soil -- Old Roots*, edited by J. Rozumnyj, pp. 225-42. Winnipeg: UAAS, 1983.

Harasym, Rose. "Ukrainians in Canadian Political Life, 1923-45." In *A Heritage in Transition*, edited by M.R. Lupul, pp. 108-25. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982.

Kaye, V.J. "Political Integration of Ethnic Groups: The Ukrainians." *Revue de l'Universite d'Ottawa* XXXII (1962), 30-44.

Kazymyra, Nadia. "Aspects of Ukrainian Opinion in Manitoba During World War One." In *Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education*, edited by M.L. Kovacs, pp. 117-34. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1978.

------- "The Defiant Pavlo Krat and the Early Socialist Movement in Canada." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* X (2) (1978), 38-54.

------- "Ukrainian Canadian Response to the Paris Peace Conference, 1919." In *Loyalties in Conflict*, edited by Swyripa and Thompson, pp. 125-42.

Only the last of the three articles merits serious consideration.

Kolasky, John. *The Shattered Illusion: The History of Ukrainian Pro-Communist Organizations in Canada*. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1979.

Survey of the decline of the ULFTA/AUUC by a former activist. Regrettably brief introductory chapter deals with the period 1907-39. Emphasis is on organizations and leaders.

Krawchuk, Peter. *The Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada (1907-1918)*. Toronto: Progress Books, 1979.

The author has lttle sympathy and understanding for those early socialists who strayed from the path of Leninist orthodoxy.

Lazarenko, Joseph M. "Ukrainians in Provincial Politics." In *The Ukrainian Pioneers in Alberta*, edited by J.M. Lazarenko, pp. 40-80. Edmonton: Ukrainian Pioneers' Association, 1970.

Biographical information about Ukrainians elected to the Alberta Legislature.

Luchkovich, Michael. *A Ukrainian Canadian in Parliament*. Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1965.

The political memoirs of the first Ukrainian MP (UFA-Vegreville-1926/35) elected in Canada.

Makuch, Andrij. "The 'Kryza' in Alberta: Communists, Ukrainians and the UFA." Unpublished paper, University of Alberta, 1978.

------- "In the Populist Tradition: Organizing the Ukrainian Farmer in Alberta, 1905-1935." Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Alberta, 1983.

The best studies of Ukrainian political activity in east central Alberta.

Makuch, Nestor. "The Revolution's Influence on Ukrainians in Canada." *Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies* 6 (Spring 1979), 42-61.

Martynowych, Orest T. "The Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada, 1900-1918." *Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies* 1 (Fall 1976), 27-44 and 2 (Spring 1977), 22-31.

Argues that immigrant socialists passed from under the influence of the Ukrainian Radical Party and the Social Democratic Party into the sphere of the Bolsheviks between 1900 and the autumn of 1917.

------- and Nadia Kazymyra. "Political Activity in Western Canada, 1896--1923." In *A Heritage in Transition*, edited by M.R. Lupul, pp. 85-107.

Marunchak, Mykhailo (Michael). *V zustrichi z ukrainskymy pioneramy Alberty*. (Among Ukrainian Pioneers of Alberta). Winnipeg: General Library "UKT", 1964.

Melnycky, Peter. "The Internment of Ukrainians in Canada." In *Loyalties in Conflict*, edited by Swyripa and Thompson, pp. 1-24.

Very interesting.

Migus, Paul M. "Ukrainian-Canadian Youth: A History of Organizational Life in Canada." Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1975.

Nazaruk, Osyp. *Toma Tomashevsky: Robitnyk-pioner ukrainskoi presy v Amerytsi*. (Toma Tomashevsky: Pioneer-worker of the Ukrainian Press in North America). Chicago, 1924.

Nimchuk, Ivan. *Pochatyky orhanizatsiinoho zhyttia kanadiiskykh ukraintsiv*. (The Beginnings of the Organizational Life of Canadian Ukrainians). Edmonton: Catholic Action, 1952.

A pamphlet by a Catholic activist.

Petryshyn, Jerry. "Canadian Perceptions of the North-West and East Europeans, 1891-1914: The Case of the Ukrainians." *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 11 (Fall 1981), 43-65.

Pobihushchy, Sidney. "The Development of Political Socialization of Ukrainians in Alberta." *Slavs in Canada* II (1968), 20-30.

Swyripa, Frances. "The Ukrainian Image: Loyal Citizen or Disloyal Alien." In *Loyalties in Conflict*, edited by Swyripa and Thompson, pp. 47-68.

Thompson, John Herd. "The Enemy Alien and the Canadian General Election of 1917." In *Loyalties in Conflict*, edited by Swyripa and Thompson, pp. 25-46.

Woycenko, Olha. "Community Organizations." In *A Heritage in Transition*, edited by M.R. Lupul, pp. 173-94.

F. Ukrainian Immigrants as Seen By Contemporaries

i) Ukrainian

Davidiuk, Mykola. *My Memoirs -- As a Pioneer*. Translated by William Philipovich. Edmonton: n.p., 1982.

Memoirs of a man who emigrated from the Chortkiv district at the age of 14 in 1912. Focuses on the experiences of Ukrainian labourers and farmers in the Myrnam area and on ULFTA activity.

Dmytriv, Nestor. *Kanadyiska Rus': Podorozhni spomyny*. (Canadian Ruthenia: A Traveller's Reminiscences). 2nd edition. Winnipeg: UVAN, 1972.

A memoir by a progressive Ukrainian Greek Catholic missionary describing social and economic conditions in the first Ukrainian settlements in Western Canada in the winter of 1896/97. Very interesting and informative. Deserves to be translated.

Havrysh, Vasyl. *Moia Kanada i ia: Spohady i rozpovidi pro ukrainskykh pioneriv u Kanadi*. (My Canada and I: Memoirs and Stories About Ukrainian Pioneers in Canada). Edmonton: The Author, 1974.

Memoirs of an immigrant who arrived in Alberta in 1911. Interesting information on interpersonal relations in a peasant family in Galicia. Perceptive sketches of immigrants in various walks of life.

Mihaychuk, Vasyl. "Ukrainsko-angliiske uchytelstvo v Kanadi." (Ukrainian Bilingual Teachers in Canada). *Kaliendar Ukrainskoho holosu 1915* (Calendar of the Ukrainian Voice 1915), pp. 130-36. Winnipeg, 1914.

------- "The School and the Citizen." *Western School Journal* VI (7) (1911), 253-55 and VI (10) (1911), 364-66.

------- "Ruthenian Teachers' Convention." *Western School Journal* X (7) (1915), 277-79.

The view of an articulate Manitoba bilingual teacher.

Nazaruk, Osyp. "Iak vyhliadaie Kanada i my v nii." (A Description of Canada and Our People in It). *Ukrainskyi prapor* (Ukrainian Flag) (Vienna), 3 February -- 9 June, 1923.

Political and religious organizations surveyed by a representative of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic while in Canada.

Nemirsky, Theodore. "Diary." Provincial Archives of Alberta.

Memoirs of an influential immigrant of Russophile views.

Oleskiv, Osyp (Joseph). *O emigratsii*. (On Emigration). Lviv: Obshchestvo M. Kachkovskoho, 1895.

------- *Pro vilni zemli*. (About Free Lands). Lviv: T-vo Prosvita, 1895. Reprint edition. Winnipeg: UVAN, 1975.

The two pamphlets which first publicized the agricultural possibilities available in Canada.

Svarich, Peter (Petro Zvarych). *Spomyny: 1877-1904.* (Memoirs: 1877-1904). Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1977.

------- "Uryvky zi spomyniv P. Zvarycha z Vegrevyl, Alta." (Excerpts From the Memoirs of P. Svarich of Vegreville, Alberta). In *Propamiatna Knyha Ukrainskoho Narodnoho Domu v Vynnypegu* (Commemorative Book of the Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg), edited by D. Doroshenko and S. Kowbel, pp. 661-80. Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1949.

Memoirs of an educated, articulate immigrant who had been attracted to the Radical Party in his youth. Interesting material on the awakening village in Galicia and the origins of Protestantism among Ukrainians in Canada.

Swystun, Wasyl (Vasyl Svystun). "Nashe shkilnytstvo v Kanadi." (Our Schools in Canada). *Kaliendar Ukrainskoho Holosu 1915* pp. 122-29.

ii) English-speaking

d'Easum, Basil C. "A Galician Wedding." *The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature* XIII (1899), 83-84.

Elston, Miriam. "Making Ruthenians into Canadians: An Interesting Experiment in Education." *Graphic* 4 April 1914.

------- "The Russian in Our Midst." *Westminister* (1915), 53-36.

------- "A Russian Wedding in Alberta." *East and West 18 March 1916.*

------- "A Greek Easter Service." *Onward* 22 April 1916.

------- "English Schools for Foreigners in Alberta." *Westminister* (1916), 425-32.

------- "Our Little Russian Brother." *Christian Guardian* (1916).

------- "The Canadian Slav and the War." *Graphic* 1917.

------- "Ruthenians in Western Canada: I Public Schools." *Onward* 12 April 1919.

------- "Ruthenians in Western Canada: II School Teaching Amongst the Russians." *Onward* 19 April 1919.

------- "Ruthenians in Western Canada: III Canadian Citizens From Russians." *Onward* 26 April 1919.

------- Ruthenians in Western Canada: IV When Sickness Visits a Russian Home." *Onward* 3 May 1919.

------- "Our Own Slav Problem: Ukrainians in Canada." *Graphic* 9 August 1919.

------- "A Ruthenian Day of Days." *Canadian Courier* n.d.

------- "Meeting Needs on the Frontier: My Acquaintance with Lamont Hospital." *Onward* n.d.

The author was a teacher and journalist who had come to Alberta from Ontario in 1908. Copies of her articles are filed at the Provincial Archives of Alberta (Acc.65.55).

Hardy, J.H. "The Ruthenians in Alberta." *Onward* 1 November 1913.

Murphy, Emily C. (Janey Canuck). "Communing with Ruthenians." *The Canadian Magazine . . .* XL (1913), 403-10.

Weeks, Edith A. "Among the Russians in Northern Alberta." *Christian Guardian* 25 September 1907.

G. Commemorative Books and Histories

i) Ukrainian

Robitnychyi kaliendar (Labour Calendar). Winnipeg: Ukrainian Social Democratic Party in Canada, 1918.

Contains a good summary of the SD's history and brief accounts about each of the surviving locals.

Robitnycho-farmerskyi kaliendar (Labour-Farmer Calendar). Winnipeg: Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association, 1928.

Almanakh TURF-Dim 1918-1929 (Almanac of the ULFTA 1918-1929). Winnipeg: Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association, 1929.

Both almanacs celebrate the ULFTA's first decade. Contain reports of annual conventions.

Propamiatna knyha poselennia ukrainskoho narodu v Kanadi, 1891-1941 (Commemorative Book of Ukrainian Settlement in Canada, 1891-1941). Yorkton: Holos Spasytelia, 1941.

The book was published by the Greek Catholic diocese. It celebrates the role of the Greek Catholic Church in the life of the community. In addition to brief articles on the Church and religious orders, the volume contains brief write-ups on the history of every parish and mission station in Canada.

Propamiatna knyha Ukrainskoho Narodnoho Domu u Vynnypegu (Commemorative Book of the Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg). Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1949.

Includes a number of brief memoirs written by pioneer settlers.

Iuvileinyi almanakh oo. Redemptorystiv, 1905-55 (Jubilee Almanac of the Redemptorist Fathers, 1905-1955). Yorkton: Holos Spasytelia, 1955.

Propamiatna knyha Ukrainskoho Narodnoho Domu v Edmontoni (Commemorative Book of the Ukrainian National Home in Edmonton). Edmonton: Ukrainian News Publishers, 1966.

ii) English-language Local Histories

District East of Vegreville, edited by R.H. Knight. Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1923.

Vegreville and Vermillion Districts, edited by R.H. Knight. Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1924.

The History of Two Hills Including the Lanuke District. n.p., n.d.

Bellis History 1897-1967: A Historical Study of the Bellis School Community by the Pupils and Teachers of Bellis School, edited by P. Bodnar. Smoky Lake, Alberta: The County of Smoky Lake, No. 13, 1967.

Includes sections on Smoky Lake, Vilna and Waskatenau.

History of Greater Vegreville, edited by Samuel H. Harden. Vegreville: Town of Vegreville, 1968.

Demchuk, M., et al. "A Sociological Analysis of Our Rural Community -- Myrnam." Unpublished paper, University of Alberta, 1969.

Memories: Redwater and District, edited by Audry Hrynchuk and Jean Klufas. Calgary: D.W. Friesen and Sons, 1972.

Reflections: A History of Elk Point and District. Elk Point and District Historical Society, 1977.

Lamont and District: Along Victoria Trail, edited by Elizabeth Carlsson and Irene Stainton. Edmonton: Lamont and District Historians, 1978.

The History of Willingdon, 1928-1978, edited by Myrtle Charuk. St. Paul, Alberta: L.H. Drouin, St. Paul Journal, 1978.

Dreams and Destinies: Andrew and District, edited by L. Semeniuk. Andrew: Andrew Historical Society, 1980.

Our Crossing: Rivers to Roads. A History of the Brosseau, Duvernay and Surrounding Area. Edmonton: Cooperative Press Ltd., 1980.

Memories of Mundare: A History of Mundare and Districts. Mundare: Mundare Historical Society, 1980.

Vegreville in Review. 2 vols. Vegreville and District Historical Society, 1980.